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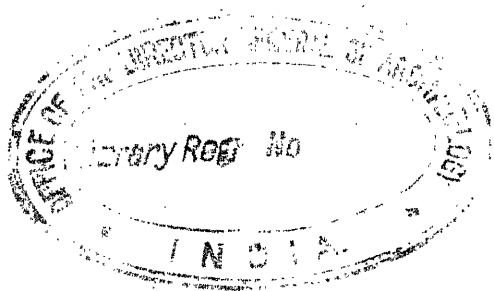
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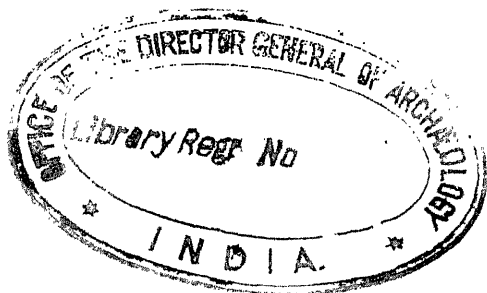
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THE  
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AND  
JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.







THE  
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,  
AND  
JOURNAL  
OF THE  
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

EDITED BY

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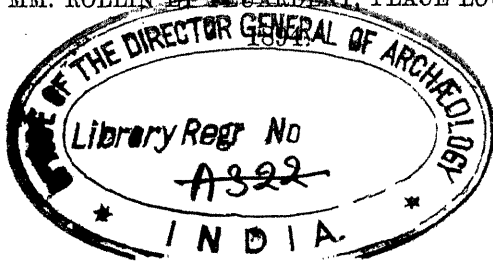


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## I.

### GREEK COINS ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM IN 1893.

(See Plate I.)

DURING the year 1893 (January to December) the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum has acquired 403 coins of the Greek class, 4 of which are gold and electrum, 118 silver, and 281 bronze. These coins have been acquired mainly by purchase, but some are gifts due to the kindness of Mr. W. C. Boyd, Major-General M. G. Clerk, the late Sir Alexander Cunningham, K.C.I.E., Sir John Evans, K.C.B., Mr. H. O. O'Hagan, Mr. H. Montagu, F.S.A., Professor W. M. Flinders Petrie, the late M. W. H. Waddington, and Dr. Hermann Weber.

Before proceeding to describe some of the noteworthy specimens among these acquisitions, it may be interesting to show in a tabular form the progress of the national collection in the Greek series during the last seven years, that being the period during which I have had the pleasure of publishing the series of papers entitled, "Greek Coins acquired by the British Museum."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Important Greek acquisitions of the Department of Coins and Medals during the years 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891,



## GREEK COINS ACQUIRED 1887—1893.

Year.	Gold and Electrum.	Silver.	Bronze, &c.	Total.
1887	8	58	110	176
1888	10	217	228	455
1889	12	65	270	347
1890	5	102	70	177
1891	16	280	73	369
1892	10	99	348	457
1893	4	118	281	403
Total	65	939	1380	2384

## PHILIP II., KING OF MACEDON.

1. *Obv.*—Head of bearded Zeus to l., laur.; border of dots.

*Rev.*—ΦΙΛΙΠ ΠΟΥ Naked boy rider, holding palm in r., on horse r.; in front, bee.

*R.* Size .95. Wt. 222.1 grs. [Pl. I. 1.]

This coin is one of the rare specimens of Philip's tetradrachms that show the head of Zeus turned to the left instead of to the right. A similar variety, described by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer (*Monn. gr.*, p. 117, No. 17), is in the Vienna Museum.<sup>2</sup> The obverse of our specimen is re-

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and 1892 will be found described by me in the *Num. Chron.* for 1888, pp. 1—21; 1889, pp. 249—267; 1890, pp. 311—329; *cf.* 1891, p. 116; 1891, pp. 117—134; 1892, pp. 1—21; 1893, pp. 1—20. In preparing the present paper I have had—as on previous occasions—the advantage of consulting the section on “Remarkable Coins” written by Mr. Barclay Head for the Report on the British Museum annually presented to the House of Commons.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* also the coins in the Thomas and Six Collections (*Monn. gr.*, p. 118).

markable also for its unusually fine execution, and for the dignified treatment of the head. L. Müller supposes the bee to be the mint-mark of Melitæa in Thessaly.<sup>3</sup>

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

2. *Obv.*—Head of young Herakles l., in lion's skin; border of dots.

*Rev.*—ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ Zeus wearing himation seated l. on throne; in r., eagle; l. on sceptre; in field l., bee.

Æ. Size 1. Wt. 266·4 grs.

A rare variety of Alexander's tetradrachms, with the head of Zeus to the left, instead of, as usual, to the right. The coin is of unusually good style, and has the same mint-mark as the coin of Philip just described.

HEBRYTELMIS OR HEBRYZELMIS (KING OF THE ODRYSÆ,  
B.C. 386-5).

3. *Obv.*—Male head l., bearded (?) and laureate (?); (Zeus?); border.

*Rev.*—ΞΟΙ Μ ΕΒΡΥΙΕΛ Fore-part of lion r.; head facing;  
r. fore-leg visible; circular incuse.

Æ. Size 75. [Pl. I. 2.]

This unique coin is of considerable interest and importance. The king, Hebrytelmis (or Hebryzelmis), was quite unknown till the year 1889, when Lolling published an inscription found on the Acropolis of Athens, consisting of a decree of the Athenians conferring various honours upon Hebrytelmis,<sup>4</sup> "King of the Odryse." This

<sup>3</sup> *Num. d'Alex.*, No. 505.

<sup>4</sup> "Für die Schreibung des namens mit dem Spiritus asper macht Lolling den Anklang an den Namen des Flusses Hebros (Maridza) in dessen Thal sich die Stammsitze der Odrysen befanden, gelten."—*Hermes*, xxvi., p. 456.

inscription can be fixed to the year B.C. 386—5. No coins bearing the name of this ruler in full have hitherto come to light, though M. Svoronos<sup>5</sup> has recognised the money of Hebrytelmis in certain bronze coins inscribed **EBPY**.

In the inscription published by Lolling (Δελτιόν ἀρχ., v. 203 ff.), and re-published with comments by A. Höck (*Hermes*, xxvi., 1891, p. 453 ff.), the name of the king occurs in the genitive 'Εβρυτέλμιδος (line 11), and in the accusative 'Εβ[ρύτε]λμι[ν] (line 5), 'Εβρύτ[ελ]μιν (line 18). On our new coin the inscription (which is quite plain) gives the genitive in *ios*, not *idos*, and the king's name as 'Εβρύζελμης, not 'Εβρύτελμης.

The reverse type bears a resemblance to the reverses of the bronze money of Pausanias, King of Macedon, and the circular incuse of the reverse is a peculiarity found on some bronze coins of the Macedonian kings of the fourth century.

#### CORINTH (?).

4. *Obv.*—**MESSALEINA AVGVSTI** Bust of Messalina r.; border of dots (double-struck).

*Rev.*—**OCTAVIA BRITANNICVS ANTONIA**  
Three figures standing; in centre, Britannicus;  
on l., Octavia; on r., Antonia holding cornucopæ; border of dots (double-struck).

*Æ.* Size 1. Wt. 103·3 grs. [Pl. I. 3.]

This remarkable and unique specimen was acquired during the past year from a London coin-dealer. Its provenance is unknown, but there seems no reason to doubt its genuineness. It bears the portrait of Valeria

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<sup>5</sup> In the *Ephemeris Arch.* 1890, p. 159; cf. B. V. Head in *Num. Chron.* 1891, p. 110.

Messalina, wife of the Emperor Claudius, and the figures of Octavia, Britannicus, and Antonia, the three children of Claudius. The inscriptions are in Latin, but, as Mr. Head has well observed, the style, the weight (which is that of two *denarii*), and the circumstance that no Roman coins of Messalina are known to have been issued, must induce us to assign it not to Rome itself, but to the Roman province of Asia, or to some Roman *colonia*. Mr. Head is in favour of attributing it to Corinth, of which city there exists a bronze coin with the effigies and names (in Latin) of Messalina and her husband (see Cohen, *Méd. imp.* i. p. 268).

Our coin is of considerable interest for iconography, though it has unfortunately suffered from double striking on the reverse,<sup>6</sup> and the scaling off of the surface has slightly affected the nose and eye on the obverse. The portrait of Messalina occurs on a few Greek imperial coins. Of these the most pleasing is a bronze coin of Nicæa, in Bithynia (Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, p. 268; Lenormant, *Trésor de Num.*, *Emp. rom.*, Pl. XIV. 5; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, *Pontus*, &c., p. 154, No. 14). The *coiffure* is precisely the same as on our coin, though the expression is of less stern a type.<sup>7</sup>

The portrait on our coin also bears considerable resemblance to the head on a cameo supposed by Bernoulli (*Römische Ikonographie*, ii. p. 358, d.) to be of Messalina. Bernoulli publishes this cameo from a cast without know-

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<sup>6</sup> The **C** of the inscription **OCTAVIA** has from this cause become nearly obliterated.

<sup>7</sup> The Nicæa portrait resembles the portrait of Messalina on Cretan coins (*B. M. Cat.*, *Crete*, p. 2, Nos. 9—11; Pl. I. 6), but in the latter case the hair is rolled. A head of Messalina occurs also on coins of Ephesus, Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikonog.* ii., p. 357; Pl. XXXIV. 14.

ing the whereabouts of the original, but it is evidently the cameo in the British Museum described in Mr. A. H. Smith's *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, under No. 1,595, as "Messalina?" The head on our coin may also be compared with the two portrait cameos of Messalina in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, published in Bernoulli, *op. cit.* ii., p. 358 a = Lenormant, *Trésor.*, Emp. rom., Pl. XIV. 6; Bernoulli, *op. cit.* ii., p. 358 b.

#### LOCRI OPUNTII.

5. *Obv.*—Head of Persephone l. wearing corn-wreath, ear-ring and necklace.

*Rev.*—ΟΡΟΝΤΙΩΝ Ajax, naked, fighting l. seen from behind; wears helmet, and holds in right, spear; in left, shield ornamented with Gorgo neion (?) and pierced by another spear.

*R.* Size .8. Wt. 90.8 grs. [Pl. I. 4.]

A very rare Æginetic drachm of the period B.C. 369—338. A similar specimen was in the Photiades collection (Lot 344, Pl. II. 344). The reverse represents the Lesser Ajax, leader of the Locrian contingent at Troy, and renowned for his swiftness of foot and skill with the spear:—'Εγχείη δ' ἐκέκαστο Πανέλληνας καὶ Ἀχαιούς.<sup>8</sup> This representation differs from that ordinarily found on the coins of Locris. The hero is here seen from behind<sup>9</sup> attacking with a spear an antagonist whose presence is only indicated on the coin by the end of his spear, which has pierced the shield of Ajax.<sup>10</sup> On other coins of the

<sup>8</sup> Hom. *Il.*, II. 530.

<sup>9</sup> Dr. Imhoof-Blumer (*Z. f. N.*, vii., p. 15) compares the attitude of the hero (Pheraimon?) on bronze coins of Messana = *B. M. Cat.*, *Sicily*, p. 108, No. 81.

<sup>10</sup> A similar type occurs on rare coins of the Locrians under

Locrians (*Brit. Mus. Cat., Central Greece*, Pl. I.) Ajax is in a different attitude, and fights with a short sword, while a spear—sometimes broken—lies on the ground. The ornament on the shield is not quite distinct, but appears to be the Gorgoneion, a somewhat strange device for a hero who had conspicuously incurred the enmity of the goddess Athena.

## ELIS.

6. *Obv.*—**F A** Eagle flying r. devouring lamb; in field, l., countermark.

*Rev.*—**F A** Thunderbolt with wide-spread wings; border of dots; whole in incuse square.

*Æ.* 1. Wt. 178.5. [Pl. I. 5.]

*Circ.* B.C. 450 (?). In my "Greek Coins acquired by the British Museum in 1891" (*Num. Chron.*, 1892, p. 13) I have noted a good many instances of the curious interchange of dies on Elia didrachms. The types there described as dies L and K<sup>11</sup> bear a resemblance to those of the coin now before us, but in the present case the obverse type is to the right, not to the left, and the reverse also is varied. To fit in with my list, the obverse and reverse dies on this didrachm might be denominated L\* and K\*.

7. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus l.; laureate.

*Rev.*—**F A** Eagle with closed wings standing r.; serpent rising up in front.

*Æ.* .7. Wt. 42.3. [Pl. I. 6.]

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the name of Epimenidii; see Imhoof-Blumer in *Z. f. N.*, vii., p. 14, No. 3, Pl. I. 9 (Cab. de Luynes); and a specimen in the Photiades Sale Catalogue, Lot 351, now in the British Museum (acquired 1890).

<sup>11</sup> See photograph in *Num. Chron.*, 1890, Pl. XIX. 10; p. 320, No. 17.

A very rare hemi-drachm not described in Gardner's *Elis.* (Cp. the obverse of the didrachm, Gardner, *Cat. Pelop. Elis*, No. 73, Pl. XIII. 2, B.C. 370—362 = Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 355, fig. 234, B.C. 365—322.)

PHENEUS (ARCADIA).

8. *Obv.*—Head of Demeter l. wearing corn-wreath, earring and necklace; behind, ΠΟ.

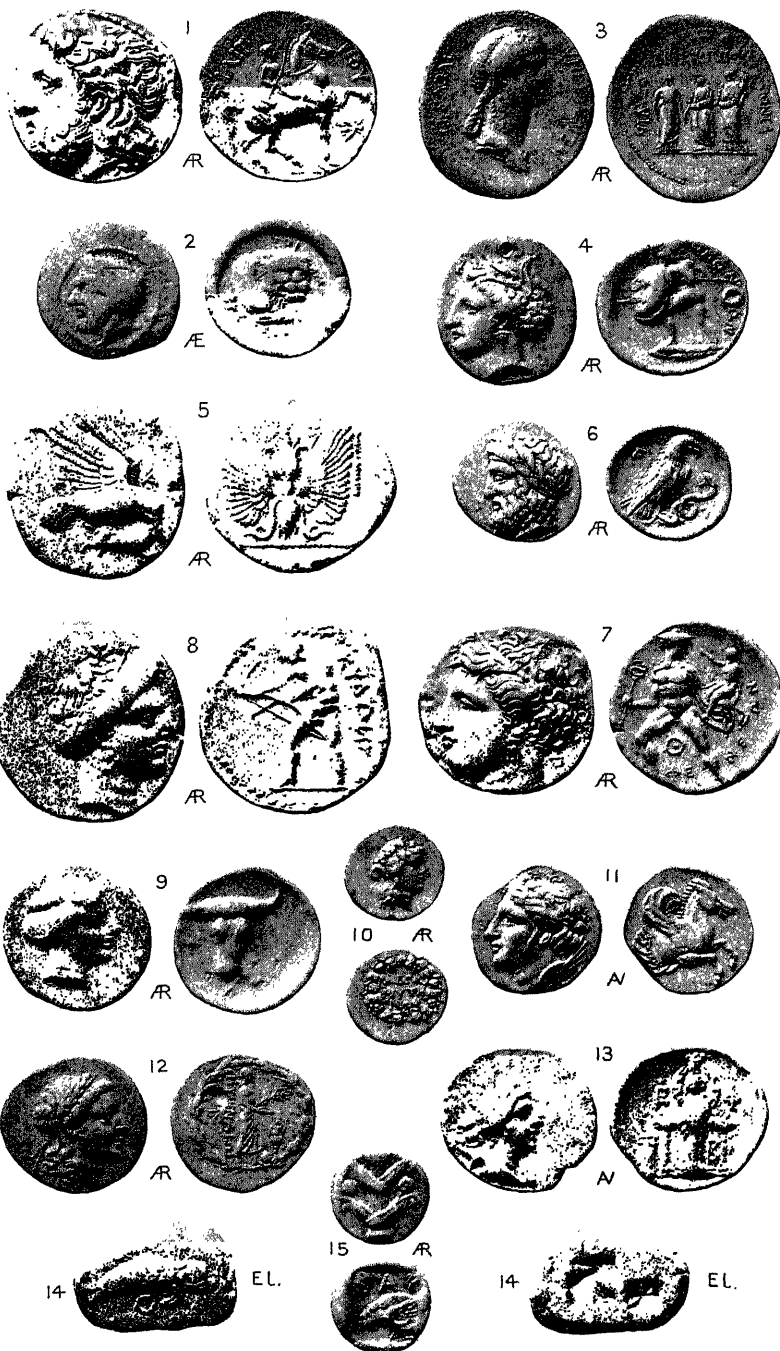
*Rev.*—ΦΕ ΝΕ ΩΝ Hermes wearing petasos, and chlamys fastened round neck and covering left hand, running l.; in r., caduceus; on his left arm young Arkas seated, his right hand stretched towards the head of Hermes, which is turned round to him; between legs of Hermes, patera.

Æ. Size .95. Wt. 185.7 grs. [Pl. I. 7.]

*Circ.* B.C. 362. Demeter and Hermes are both known as important divinities of Pheneus,<sup>12</sup> and the reverse type has been recognised as representing Hermes carrying Arkas, the child of Callisto, to the nymph Maia.<sup>13</sup> Imhoof and Gardner (*Num. Comm. on Paus.*, p. 97) are of opinion that the reverse design was a group "invented by the die-sinker, and not the copy of any sculptural work." The general affinity of the type to the Hermes group of Praxiteles has, however, often been remarked (*e.g.* A. H. Smith in *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, III., p. 82). The present coin is unpublished, and differs in several points from the other didrachms of Pheneus. For example:—*Brit. Mus. Cat., Peloponnesus*, p. 194, No. 13, Pl. XXXVI. 7; Lambros, *Peloponnesos*, p. 136, Pl. XVI. 8, in the Loebbecke Collection; Gardner, *Types*, p. 157, Pl. VIII., No. 41 and No. 31 from Mionnet's casts; Berlin Museum, *Das Königl.*

<sup>12</sup> Imhoof and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.*, pp. 97, 98.

<sup>13</sup> Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 379.







*Münzkabinet*, Pl. II. No. 153 = Imhoof and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.*, T. v. (*rev*). On this fine didrachm the head is turned to the left instead of the right, and in this respect, and in the form of the earring, resembles the drachms of Pheneus, the reverses of which show Hermes seated on rocks (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*, *Pelop.*, Pl. XXXVI. 8; Lambros, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVI. No. 9). The word **ΑΡΚΑΣ** does not appear near the child, and the chlamys is fastened round the neck, and not merely thrown over the left shoulder.<sup>14</sup> Behind the head appear the letters **ΠΟ**, an inscription which should perhaps be explained as that of a magistrate, and not of an artist.

## CYDONIA (CRETE).

9. *Obv.*—Head of nymph or maenad r., wearing earring, necklace, and wreath of vine-leaves and grapes; behind, **NEYANTOΞ**  
**ΕΠΟΕΙ**

*Rev.*—**ΚΥΔΩΝΙ** Naked male figure (Kydon or Apollo) standing l., stringing bow; border of dots.

*R.* Size 1.1. Wt. 178.6. grs. [Pl. I. 8.]

The British Museum hitherto possessed no specimen of this didrachm, which is known from several other examples (see Svoronos, *Num. de la Crète*, p. 100, No. 3), and is specially interesting from the signature of the engraver, Neuantos.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> The Berlin didrachm (*Das Königl. Münzk.*, Pl. II., No. 153), though generally resembling the other didrachms, has the chlamys fastened, as on our didrachm.

<sup>15</sup> On Neuantos, see Wroth, "Cretan Coins" (*Num. Chron.*, 1884), Cydonia, and *Cat. Crete, &c.*, pp. xxiii., xxiv.

## LAPPA (CRETE).

10. *Obv.*—Female head r. (Artemis ?) ; hair rolled.



*Rev.*—Bull's head facing ; right horn bent under.

*R.* Size .8. Wt. 86.4 grs. [Pl. I. 9.]

Only four other specimens of this rare drachm (struck B.C. 350—300 ?) are enumerated in M. Svoronos's *Num. de la Crète anc.*, p. 211, No. 1, Pl. XIX. 30. The female head is of good style, and probably represents the goddess Artemis. On other coins of Lappa Apollo appears.

## ADRAMYTEUM (MYSIA).

11. *Obv.*—Head of young Dionysos r., wreathed with ivy.

*Rev.*—  
MYTH  
NON  
 within ivy wreath.

*R.* Size .5. Wt. 23.4 grs. [Pl. I. 10.]

The ivy-wreath on the reverse recalls the reverses of the cistophori, and the present coin—hitherto unpublished—appears in fact to be in value one-eighth of a cistophorus of the series issued in the province of Asia, *circ.* B.C. 133—67. (See *Brit. Mus. Cat., Mysia*, p. 3.) The ivy-wreath further recalls the reverses of the silver coins of Mithradates the Great (Eupator), (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Pontus*, Pl. VIII. and Pl. IX.), while the Dionysos-head of the obverse in some degree resembles that on bronze coins struck by the Pontic king at Amisus (*Cat., Pontus*, Pl. III., Nos. 7, 8, 9).

## LAMPSACUS (MYSIA).

12. *Obv.*—Youthful head l. (Eros) wreathed with myrtle ; wing attached to neck.

*Rev.*—Fore-part of winged horse; traces of incuse square.

*N.* Size .7. Wt. 130.5 grs. [Pl. I. 11.]

This fine stater of Lampsacus is unique, and presents a remarkable type on the obverse. The wreath appears to be of myrtle, and Mr. Head is no doubt right<sup>16</sup> in describing the type as Eros. The head cannot be said to show Praxitelean influence, and the conception is perhaps original. I feel a strong conviction that it is by the engraver who made the Lampsacene gold stater with the Actæon head. In describing the British Museum specimen of that stater (*Num. Chron.*, 1893, p. 9, No. 16, Pl. I. 16), I called attention to the affinities in treatment that the Actæon head presents with the head of the female Satyr on another Lampsacene stater (*Brit. Mus. Cat., Mysia*, Pl. XIX. 2), and it is curious to observe that on our new "Eros" stater a lock of hair falls on the cheek just as it does in the case of the Satyr coin. This is the more noteworthy because, though the strayed lock of hair completes naturally the wild and dishevelled appearance of the Satyr, yet it is not so obviously suitable for the Eros. The Eros, Actæon and female Satyr, are, then, I believe, all the work of a single engraver, whose productions are marked by peculiar freshness and strength.

PERGAMUM (MYSIA).

13. *Obv.*—ΑΥΤ . Κ . Γ . ΜΕΣ . ΚVI Ν . ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟC  
. ΔΕ ΚΙΟC. Bust of Trajan Decius r., laur.,  
wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

*Rev.*—ΕΠΙ . C . ΚΟΜ . Φ . ΓΛV ΚΩ ΝΟC . ΘΕΟ  
ΤΤΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ ΤΤΡΩ . Γ . ΝΕΩ The  
Emperor, wearing cuirass and paludamentum,

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<sup>16</sup> Parliamentary Return, British Museum, 1894.

standing l., holding patera over lighted altar ; in his left hand, spear ; behind him, Dionysos in short chiton standing l. crowning him with wreath held in right, and holding in left thyrsos entwined by tania. On l., before the Emperor, statue of goddess (wearing chiton with diplois, veil, and kalathos) standing facing ; each hand, with fillet suspended from it, holds (short torch ?).

Æ. Size 1.65.

On another coin of Pergamum (*Brit. Mus. Cat., Mysia*, p. 161, No. 343) Trajan Decius is likewise crowned by Dionysos, and the same goddess appears as the reverse type of a Pergamene coin of Severus Alexander, described in Imhoof-Blumer's *Griechische Münzen*, p. 618, No. 184, Pl. VII. 11. **ΘΕΟ** is an abbreviation of the word **ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΝ** that appears on other coins of Pergamum.<sup>17</sup> Eckhel (*Doct. num. vet.* iv. 217) explained θεολόγος as one "qui explicandæ rei divinæ operam impendit," more especially the interpretation of oracles. He referred to a passage in Lucian's *Alexander*, 19, and to Plutarch, *De Defectu orac.* xv. : *πλείστον δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας διαμαρτάνουσιν οἱ Δελφῶν θεολόγοι.*<sup>18</sup>

Subsequent numismatic writers have repeated Eckhel's explanation, but without noticing, so far as I am aware, that the θεολόγος is not infrequently mentioned in inscriptions of Asia Minor of the imperial age: e.g. *Corpus inser. græc.*, Nos. 3148, 3199, 3200, 3348, 3803. In an inscription of Ephesus (A.D. 104), commented on by

<sup>17</sup> Mion. *Sup.* v., p. 467, No. 1140, Elagabalus, Alexander strategos ; Mion. ii., p. 617, No. 659, Herennius Etruscus, Glycon strategos ; cf. Mion. *Sup.* v., p. 472, No. 1160. See also *B. M. Catalogue, Mysia*, p. 157, No. 332, with **ΘΕΟ**, and *ib.* No. 331, with **Θ[ΕΟΛΟ ?]**.


<sup>18</sup> The passage continues :—*νομίζοντες ἐνταῦθα ποτε πρὸς ὄφιν τῷ θεῷ περὶ τοῦ χρηστηρίου μάχην γενέσθαι.*

Canon Hicks (*Brit. Mus. Inscr., Ephesos*, No. cccclxxxi., lines 191, 192, p. 87, p. 138), *θεολόγοι* are mentioned, together with *ὑμνωδοί*, as functionaries attached to the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. Canon Hicks translates *ὑμνωδοί* "choristers" or "choir-men," and supposes that they were singers of hymns in praise of Artemis, while "the *θεολόγοι* were a kind of hierophants who recited the sacred legends of the goddess." From other inscriptions it would appear that the *θεολόγος* was especially connected with the celebration of mysteries.<sup>19</sup> The office was held by women as well as by men (*C. I. G.*, No. 3199). *Θεολόγοι* and *ὑμνωδοί* are also mentioned together (*C. I. G.*, No. 3148) at Smyrna, where they were appointed by Hadrian to increase the dignity of the Augusteum.<sup>20</sup>

A notice that more immediately concerns our coin of Pergamum is the mention, in an imperial inscription of Nysa in Caria (*Bull. Corr. hell.*, ix., pp. 125, 126), of a *θεολόγου ναῶν τῶν ἐν Περγ[ά]μῳ*. On the Pergamene coins the title *θεολόγος* is borne by persons of the name of Alexander and Glycon, who were strategi in the reigns of Elagabalus and Trajan Decius, respectively.

#### MYRINA (ÆOLIS).

14. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo of Grynium r. wearing laurel-wreath with ends falling behind.



*Rev.*—**ΜΥΡΙΝΑΙΩΝ** Apollo of Grynium, in himation which leaves upper limbs bare, standing r.; in right, patera; in left, laurel branch, to which two fillets are attached; before him, omphalos and amphora; in field l., ; whole in laurel wreath.

R. Size .7. Wt. 58.5 grs. [Pl. I. 12.]

<sup>19</sup> See *C. I. G.* 3199, 3200, 3803.

<sup>20</sup> Hicks, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

15. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 14 ; countermark, bunch of grapes.

*Rev.*—Similar to No. 14, but in field l., , AE, .

R. Size .85. Wt. 58.2 grs.

The drachms of Myrina are well known to be very much rarer than the corresponding tetradrachms of the same period (second century B.C.). The monograms on No. 15 appear also on one of the tetradrachms, a specimen of which is in the British Museum. The countermark on No. 15 may possibly have been impressed by the Æolian Temnus, of which town a bunch of grapes was the type.

#### EPHESUS (IONIA).

16. *Obv.*—Bust of Artemis r., draped, wearing stephane and necklace ; bow and quiver at shoulder.

*Rev.*—E Φ Statue of Ephesian Artemis, with fillet hanging from each hand ; on l., tripod ; on r., B.

N. Size .8. Wt. 130.6. grs. [Pl. I. 13.]

One of the rare gold staters issued B.C. 87—84, at the time when, under the auspices of Mithradates Eupator, Ephesus and other cities of the Province of Asia revolted from Rome. This coinage was not represented in the *Brit. Mus. Cat., Ionia*, but several specimens are described in Mr. Head's *Ephesus*, p. 69. Our coin is similar to one from the Dupré Collection (Head, *op. cit.*, p. 69, No. 3, Pl. V. 4).

#### PHOCÆA (IONIA).

17. *Obv.*—Seal (φώκη) r. ; beneath, Θ (or Θ ?).

*Rev.*—Two shallow incuse squares of different sizes.

El. Size .85. Wt. 254.9. [Pl. I. 14.]

This extremely rare and important stater belongs to the earliest issue of electrum coinage at Phocæa, and probably to the period B.C. 602—560, when the Phocæans were supreme at sea.<sup>21</sup> The coin has hitherto only been known from the unique specimen in the Munich Collection, a photograph of which was published by Mr. Head in his "Metrological Notes on Ancient Electrum Coins" (*Num. Chron.*, 1875, Pl. X., No. 6, p. 281, ff.), to which article the reader may be referred for some excellent remarks on the early Phocæan coinage, as well as to Mr. Head's *Catalogue of the Coins of Ionia*, Intro., p. xx. f. The letter on the obverse is assumed to be equivalent to Φ, though the form Θ or Θ does not appear to occur in any other Greek inscriptions.

BARIS (PISIDIA).

18. *Obv.* — **ΟΒΕΙΒΓΑΛΛΟC ΟΒΟΛΟΝC CΙΟC C.**<sup>22</sup>  
 Bust of Volusian r., laur.; wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

*Rev.* — **BA PH ΝΩΝ.** The god Mên wearing short chiton, Phrygian cap, and crescent at shoulder, standing l.; in right, pine-cone; in left, sceptre.

Æ. Size .95.

This specimen was formerly in the collection of Dr. Churchill Babington, and seems to be unpublished. A similar reverse type occurs on a coin of Baris, with the head of Trebonianus Gallus on the obverse (*Num. Chron.*, x., p. 93, No. 3), and Mên is represented on horseback on a coin of Herennius Etruscus (*Ib.*, No. 2).

<sup>21</sup> Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 506.

<sup>22</sup> Possibly **ΟΒΟΛΟΝC CΙ . CΕ.**



## TITIOPOLIS (ISAURIA).

19. *Obv.*—**AVT[OK ?]AIAAV [K ?]O[M]** . . . . Bust of Commodus r., draped ; slightly bearded.

*Rev.*—**TITIO ΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΕΤΟΥCΓ** Tyche standing l. in distyle shrine ; in right, rudder ; in left, cornucopiæ.

Æ. Size 1·2.

The existence of Titiopolis was only known from literary sources of the fourth century A.D. (and later), until Longpérier (*Rev. Num.* 1838, p. 422 ; cp. Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.*, p. 366) published its earliest coin—a bronze piece of Hadrian, with the type of Zeus seated. M. Waddington (*Rev. Num.*, 1883, p. 37 f.) subsequently published another coin of the city, with the heads of Caracalla and Geta and the type of Dionysos standing. The coin above described tends to fill the gap in the coinage between the reigns of Hadrian and Septimius Severus. Some details of the obverse are obscure, but the legend of the reverse is quite distinct. The coin must be dated from an era beginning in the reign of Commodus, or three years before the commencement of his reign, though such an era does not seem to be known to us from other sources. The coin of Hadrian mentioned above is undated, but the coin of Caracalla and Geta bears, according to M. Waddington, the letters **CI**. No doubt this is a date, but the date **CI** (= 210), if reckoned from any era beginning in, or just previous to, the reign of Commodus, would of course give an impossible date for Caracalla and Geta. I can only suppose, therefore, that the letters **CI** are incorrectly read, especially as M. Waddington added to his reading of **CI** the words “lettres douteuses.”

## BARCE (CYRENAICA).

20. *Obv.*—Silphium.*Rev.*—**BAP** Ram's head l.; whole in incuse square.*R.* Size 5. Wt. 52.1 grs. [Pl. I. 15.]

A very rare drachm of Phœnician weight, probably of the first half of the fifth century B.C. It was purchased by the British Museum of MM. Rollin and Feuardent, by whom it was acquired from the collection of Mr. Edward Wigan, the well-known collector. It is apparently the identical specimen published in the *Supplément* to Müller's *Num. de l'anc. Afrique*, 1874, p. 13, Pl. I., No. 290A (reverse only).<sup>23</sup> Müller gives the legend as **BAP[K]A**, but the second **A** appears to me to be only an imperfection in the surface of the coin. Another similar drachm (with the reverse type to r.), acquired by the British Museum in 1881, has the inscription **BAP**.

WARWICK WROTH.

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<sup>23</sup> Müller describes the coins as "chez Rollin et Feuardent (*Cat. de la Coll. de Northwick*, No. 1594)."

## II.

### ON A SMALL HOARD OF SAXON SCEATTAS FOUND NEAR CAMBRIDGE.

(See Plate II.)

IN or near the town of Cambridge there was found, some few years ago, a small hoard of Saxon silver sceattas, the whole, or nearly the whole, of which came into my possession. I have frequently thought of publishing some description of these coins, many of which bear Runic letters upon them, but from various causes I have postponed doing so. One of these causes is that I was always in hopes of being able to identify the prince, king, or person whose name appears on two of the coins, and under or by whom it seems probable that they were struck. I am, however, beginning to despair of finding a satisfactory way out of the difficulties that beset me in attempting to appropriate these two sceattas; and as others, especially Lord Grantley, are making a particular study of this early series, it seems but right that I should make public the facts at my command, in the hope that they may assist in elucidating an interesting historical question. But before hazarding any speculations as to the possible attribution and date of the coins in this hoard, it will be well to describe the various types, and refer to the works in which analogous specimens have been figured. They are, after all, only nine in number, and the whole of them are shown in the accompanying autotype plate.

1. *Obv.*—Fantastic bird to r. within a beaded circle.

*Rev.*—Wolf-like beast walking to l. within a beaded circle.

Æ. Wt.  $13\frac{3}{4}$  grains. Pl. II. Fig. 1.<sup>1</sup>

This appears to be of Kenyon's type, 44, *British Museum Catalogue of English Coins*, Pl. IV. 8. Lindsay, Pl. I. 1, assigns a similar coin, but with the animal on the reverse to the right, to Northumbria.

2. *Obv.*—Fantastic bird to r., with left leg elevated, numerous pellets in the field; the whole within a beaded circle.

*Rev.*—Beast with open mouth and triple-ended tail walking r., numerous pellets in the field; the whole within a beaded circle.

Æ. Wt.  $15\frac{1}{2}$  grains. Pl. II. Fig. 2.

This coin varies from any that I find figured, but is of the same general character as Ruding, Pl. I. 24, on which the bird and beast are turned to the left instead of to the right.

3. *Obv.*—Long-billed bird with raised wing walking to the l.; in the field numerous pellets, above the bird a triple loop or triquetra; the whole within a beaded circle.

*Rev.*—Like that of No. 2, but with fewer pellets in the field.


Æ. Wt.  $16\frac{3}{4}$  grains. Pl. II. Fig. 3.

This type appears to present a novel feature in the ornament above the bird; at all events, so far as the series of uninscribed sceattas is concerned. I am not aware of this interlaced triple loop, or so-called triquetra, occurring on any published coin of the uninscribed class, although, as will subsequently be seen, it occurs on coins

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<sup>1</sup> In the plate the obverse of this coin should be reversed.

of Eadberht of Northumbria, and a somewhat similar device forms the principal type of some of the pennies of Sihtric, Regnald, and Anlaf. Such a triquetra is, however, of common occurrence on early stone crosses, with interlacing patterns upon them. A looped quatrefoil forms the type of a sceatta (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*, Pl. IV. 7), and a circle divided into three leaf-shaped compartments, that of Pl. IV. 13. A sceatta in the Rev. E. J. Shepherd's sale (1885, No. 9) is described as having a bird and triangular ornament upon it, and seems to have been of much the same type as this coin. It was found in Suffolk. I am indebted to Mr. L. A. Lawrence for calling my attention to this circumstance.

4. *Obv.*— (EP). Rude, square-nosed bust with parallel lips, to r.; behind, two annulets; in front, another.



*Rev.*—Square beaded compartment with a cross at each side and a diagonal line at each corner, in centre an annulet between two V- and two I-shaped lines alternately.

*R.* Wt.  $13\frac{1}{2}$  grains. Pl. II. Fig. 4.

5. *Obv.*— (EP). Bust, &c., as on No. 4.


*Rev.*—Square as on No. 4, but two V's and two pellets round annulet, but not alternately.

*R.* Wt.  $13\frac{1}{2}$  grains. Pl. II. Fig. 5.

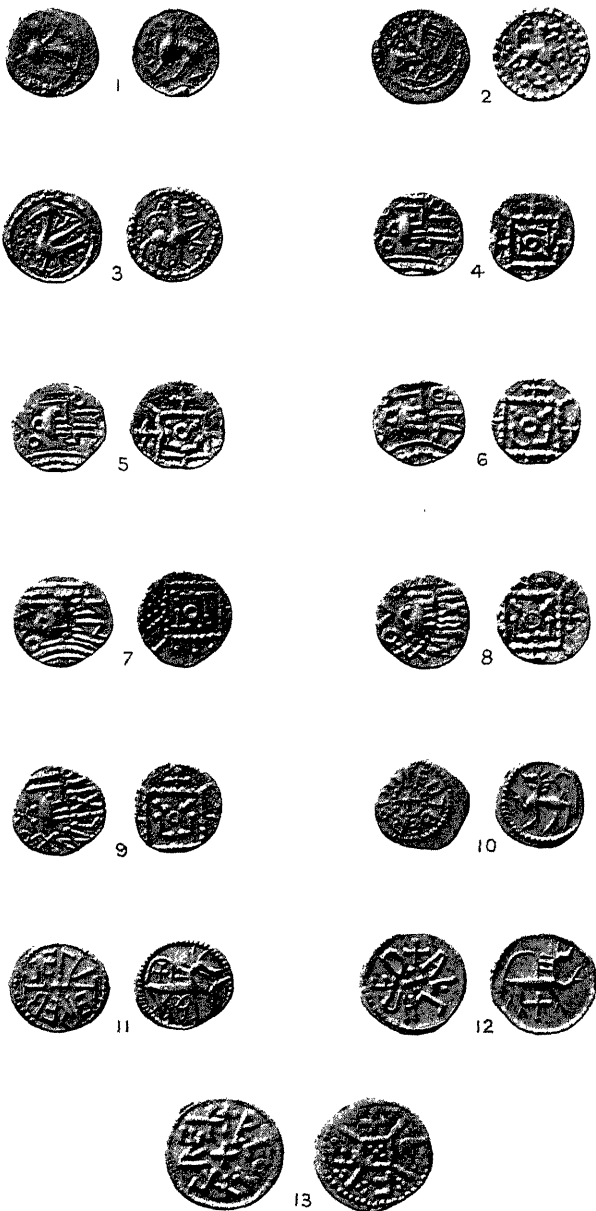
6. *Obv.*— (? EP in monogram), or possibly .  
Bust, &c., as before, but, if possible, more rude.

*Rev.*—Square, as on No. 5, but with two V's and two linked pellets.

*R.* Wt.  $15\frac{1}{2}$  grains. Pl. II. Fig. 6.

7. *Obv.*— = SPI. Rude bust to r.; behind, ΛΛΟ.

*Rev.*—Square beaded compartment with a line between two pellets on three sides, and a triangle enclos-



ANGLO-SAXON SCEATTAS.



ing pellets on the fourth, diagonal lines at corners, within the square,  $\begin{smallmatrix} \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\ \text{O} & \cdot & \cdot \\ \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \end{smallmatrix}$

R. Wt. 17 grains. Pl. II. Fig. 7.

8. *Obv.*—PIXRÆ (WIGRÆD). Rude bust crowned, r.; behind, OAO; below, XX; in front, O.

*Rev.*—Square beaded compartment as on No. 4; within,  $\begin{smallmatrix} \cdot & \cdot \\ \text{O} & \cdot \end{smallmatrix}$ .

R. Wt.  $14\frac{1}{2}$  grains. Pl. II. Fig. 8.

This is nearly the same as Lindsay's Pl. I. 19.

9. *Obv.*—PIXRÆ (WIGRD). Bust r., rather ruder than on No. 8.

*Rev.*—As No. 8.

R. Wt.  $12\frac{1}{2}$  grains. Pl. II. Fig. 9.

Several coins of types allied to the six last are figured in the *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, Pl. I., as well as in Ruding, Pl. II., the latter mostly from the Hunter collection at Glasgow. No. 8 in Ruding has the same obverse type and legend as my No. 8, but in the reverse direction, and the first letter appears to be clearly P (W). I was at one time inclined to regard it as an V (S), such as occurs on the Thames sword (Stephens' *Alphabet*, No. 3); but having regard to the Glasgow coin, this now seems very doubtful. Moreover, on one of the other sceattas the later form of S (N) is to be seen, a fact which renders any possible confusion on the part of the moneyer between V and P more improbable. Could the reading SIGRÆD have been substantiated, some close connection with one of the later kings of East Anglia might have been inferred. As it is, I believe that the inscription must be read WIGRÆD. Lindsay<sup>2</sup> read it WINVFRD, and suspected it to be the name of St. Wenefrede, or of a

<sup>2</sup> Page 5.



Winfred, Archbishop of Mentz, murdered by the Pagans in 754. Mr. Head<sup>3</sup> has considered that the coin reads plainly WIGUÆRD, which Mr. Haigh<sup>4</sup> has extended to AUSWIGUARD, or SWIGUARD, and has attributed the coin to Oswin, King of Northumbria. Any connection with Wihtræd, King of Kent (A.D. 694—724), seems negatived by the X, which is G, not T.

Wigræd is a recognised Saxon name, a bishop of Lindisfarne thus called having occupied the see from A.D. 928 to 944. He, however, can have had nothing to do with the coins under consideration. I fear, therefore, that the correct determination of what or whom the legend WIGRÆD was intended to designate has still to be sought. The meaning of SPI is equally obscure. The coins reading EPA have been attributed to a brother of the Mercian Peada, slain in the battle of Maserfield, in A.D. 642; but on what authority Mr. Head<sup>5</sup> was doubtful. Epa, however, is the name given by Henry of Huntingdon to Eawa, the brother of Penda, of Mercia, and the great-great-grandfather of Offa, a P having probably been mistaken for a P. Notwithstanding the possible similarity of name, I see no reason to suppose that coins were struck by or for Eawa. If any were struck, they would hardly give the name of EP or EPA.

From the finding of the hoard now under consideration, these coins appear to belong to East Anglia rather than to Mercia. Several examples reading APA and EPA are figured by Dirks<sup>6</sup> as having been found at Domburg

<sup>3</sup> *Num. Chron.*, N.S., 1868, VIII. 85.

<sup>4</sup> *Num. Chron.*, N.S., 1869, IX. 183.

<sup>5</sup> *Num. Chron.*, N.S., VIII. 81.

<sup>6</sup> *Les Anglo-Saxons, &c.*, Brussels, 1870, Pl. G., 28, 29; Pl. E. k.o., &c.

and elsewhere in the Netherlands, and the abundance of these coins in the Low Countries has suggested the view that they may represent an old Frisian coinage which existed at the time of the principal Frisian immigrations into England. I have, however, no hesitation in claiming the Rune-bearing coins, and indeed most of those of other types, as being of English origin; and if they were struck in East Anglia, their appearance on the Continent, in districts to which they might readily have been brought through the ordinary channels of commerce, is just what might have been expected. Under any circumstances, the finds seem to prove a close connection between Britain and Friesland, such as was pointed out by Procopius. In writing on this subject in 1864,<sup>7</sup> I expressed an opinion that the coins of the sceatta class might be assigned to about the middle of the sixth century. I am, however, now in favour of bringing the bulk of them down to a very considerably later date.

As Mr. Keary<sup>8</sup> has pointed out, the earliest of them can hardly be placed before the conversion of Æthelberht—say A.D. 600—while the type of the coarsely maned animal so common on the sceattas remained in use on the coins of Æthelred of Mercia A.D. 675—704. In Mr. Keary's latest view as to the derivation of this singular animal from the human head on other sceattas, I concur. Such a transition from a human head to a boar-like animal is, I have elsewhere pointed out, to be found among the silver coins attributed to the Iceni. The suggested derivation of the type, either from that of the wolf and twins, so common on the "Urbs

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<sup>7</sup> *Num. Chron.*, N.S., IV. 27.

<sup>8</sup> *Cat. of Eng. Coins*, vol. i. p. xxi.

Roma" coins of the Constantine period, or from the galley on the coins of Postumus and Carausius, cannot, to my mind, be possibly entertained. It is worth remarking that in size, metal, and weight, the silver Icenian coins closely correspond with the sceattas, so that, assuming that a hoard of them had been unearthed in the seventh century, they might readily have been brought into circulation with the Saxon coins, and possibly have assisted in establishing the "queer beast" as a type. I have not, however, heard of any of these ancient British coins having been found intermingled in a hoard of sceattas. Indeed, there are but few records of the discovery of any such hoards in England, though Mr. Dirks has given particulars of several such in the Netherlands.

No examples of the animal type occurred in the Cambridge hoard, but the reverses of the inscribed coins are almost identical with those with this ruder obverse. Taking this fact into account, and bearing in mind the obverse type of the coins of Æthelred, we are, I think, justified in placing both classes of coins towards the close of the period when sceattas formed the currency of England.

The first pennies struck in this country are those of Offa of Mercia, from A.D. 757 to 796, and of Ecgberht of Kent, A.D. 765 to 791, and probably none were coined before A.D. 760; while the sceattas hitherto attributed with any approach to certainty are those struck by Peada of Mercia, A.D. 655 to 657 (?) and Æthelred, one of his successors, A.D. 675 to 704. It seems strange that of Wulfhere, the successor of Peada, and of Cenred, Ceolred, and Æthelbald, the successors of Æthelred, no coins should be known. It appears hardly possible that during

their reigns the mints were absolutely idle, and we are almost driven to the conclusion that the coins of the hundred years or so between the days of Peada and those of Offa are to be sought among the sceattas that, with the exception of those of Æthelred, are either uninscribed or bear mysterious runes upon them.

The sceatta series seems susceptible of being divided into several groups, of which probably the earliest comprises those coins which most nearly approximate to the Merovingian currency of the Continent, and includes the sceattas reading LVNDONIA and their allies, with the figure holding two crosses. A second class would cluster round the coins reading PADA, with a fairly well executed bust upon them; and a third class, that may probably fill the gap that I have mentioned, consists of those with a rude bust, with Runic letters in front, on the obverse, and the square compartment on the reverse, with which a more barbarous group, with much the same reverse, must be associated.

That an uninscribed group with animal and birdlike devices upon them, executed with a fair amount of skill, was contemporaneous with the rune-bearing coins, is suggested by this Cambridge hoard; and when we compare the animals upon them with those which appear on the reverse of the silver Northumbrian coins of Eadberht, Alchred, Ethelred I,<sup>9</sup> and Aelfwald I, we cannot but be struck with their extreme similarity.

Figs. 10, 11, and 12 in the plate represent two coins of Eadberht and one of Alchred from originals in the British Museum,<sup>10</sup> and it will at once be seen that not only is

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<sup>9</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 3rd series, XII., p. 87.

<sup>10</sup> *Cat. Eng. Coins*, vol. i., Pl. XX., 4, 8, 9.

there a similarity in the animal forms upon them with those on Figs. 1, 2 and 3, but that on Fig. 11 a triquetra appears underneath the animal of precisely the same character as that above the bird on Fig. 3. A similar triquetra occurs beneath the animal on the reverse of the coin of Ethelred I<sup>11</sup> recently published by Lord Grantley. This sceatta more probably belongs to the first portion of his reign over Northumbria, from A.D. 774 to 778 or 779,<sup>12</sup> than to the second portion, A.D. 790 to 796.

So great is the general likeness between them that there can be little doubt of the approximate contemporaneity of these uninscribed sceattas and the Northumbrian pieces, the date of which can be fairly ascertained. The close analogy between the coins of the two classes has already been commented upon by Mr. Keary,<sup>13</sup> who observes that, "down to the reign of Eardwulf there is no very strong line of demarcation between the Northumbrian money and the anonymous coinage current in the south." He adds that as the Northumbrian coinage "displays the names of the kings who issued it, while the sceat series is almost wholly anonymous, the former must be considered to be financially in advance of the latter." The difference in the coinage may well have arisen from the close connection between Eadberht and the archiepiscopal see of York, which, from A.D. 734 to 766, was occupied by his brother Ecgberht, while he himself received the tonsure in 758. York was, no doubt, even more than Canterbury, a centre of learning and civilisation, and in the same manner as the relations of

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<sup>11</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 3rd series, XII. 87.

<sup>12</sup> By a misprint these dates are in vol. xii. given as 788 or 789.

<sup>13</sup> *Cat. of Eng. Coins*, vol. i. p. xxvii.

Offa and Coenwulf with Canterbury reacted on the Mercian coinage, those of Eadberht and his successors with York affected the issues from the Northumbrian mint.

Now what are the dates of the four Northumbrian kings that I have mentioned, whose coins are of silver, and bear on their reverse the fantastic animal with one paw in the air, and also occasionally exhibit the triquetra? They are as follows:—

Eadberht	.	.	.	A.D. 737—758
Alchred	.	.	.	A.D. 765—774
Ethelred I.	.	.	.	A.D. 774—778
Ælfwald I. <i>circ.</i>	.	.	.	A.D. 778—789

As already remarked, it seems extremely probable that the earliest English penny, whether struck in Mercia by Offa or in East Anglia by Beonna, does not date before A.D. 760; so that, assuming a continuous coinage of sceattas until the penny came in, the whole of the coinage of Eadberht would belong to the sceatta period. Looking at the similarity between his reverse type and that on one face of these uninscribed sceattas, we shall be justified in assigning these latter to the half century preceding the introduction of the penny, and the rune-bearing coins found with them must, from their being in the same state of preservation and the absence of any marked signs of wear, be assigned to the same period. Possibly the sceatta coinage may have overlapped that of the penny, in which case a somewhat later date would be permissible.

A farther corroboration of my views as to the date of these coins is to be found in the sceattas of Beonna, King of the East Angles, the reverse type of which closely resembles that of many of the coins in this hoard. An example from the National Collection is given in No. 13 of the Plate; the analogies between the types are shown

even more distinctly in the Hunter coin, Hawkins, No. 88. The date assigned to Beonna by Hawkins is about A.D. 750, while Haigh places him about ten years later.

Under any circumstances I hesitate in admitting the conclusion that the coins reading EPA belong to a date about A.D. 655; or, if we are bound to believe that they are contemporaneous<sup>14</sup> with the coins reading PADA, I should give up the attribution of these to Peada of Mercia, and place them one hundred years later. Luckily, there is no need of doing so, as the art of the PADA coins is quite different from that of the EPA sceattas, and there is no reason why the Runic letters may not have preserved the same form for centuries, as the Roman have done.

As to the proper interpretation of WIGRÆD, SPI, or EP, I have no very decided views. It seems to me, however, possible that, like the EALRÆD, IBBA, and EOBA, in front of the busts on coins of Offa and Cynethryth, they may, after all, be merely the names of moneyers.

I am aware that in assigning so late a date to the coins of this hoard, I have laid myself open to criticism, and that it may be thought that I am relying too much on a mere similarity of type on coins of districts so remote as Mercia or East Anglia and Northumbria. I can only say that I shall be glad to see the whole question thoroughly discussed. Above all things, I should rejoice if other hoards of sceattas should be discovered which should throw further light on the contemporaneity of the different types.

JOHN EVANS.

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<sup>14</sup> *Cat of Eng. Coins*, vol. i. p. lxxxvi.

### III.

#### A FIND OF ANGLO-SAXON COINS.

(See Plates III., IV.)

THROUGH the liberality of Mr. Franks the British Museum has lately acquired a very interesting find of Anglo-Saxon coins, a description of which will be given in the following pages. Mr. Franks is unable to furnish me with any information respecting the locality where the coins were discovered, and I can only say that when they came into my hands for examination, they were so thickly coated with dirt, and in such a condition of oxidisation, that it was almost impossible at first sight to identify a single piece. After submitting the coins to a careful process of cleaning, the hoard has turned out to be one of the most remarkable, if not the most remarkable one, of the period to which the coins belong. It consists of 241 coins and a few fragments, and includes specimens of the coinages of Mercia, Kent, Canterbury, East Anglia, and Wessex, thus embracing the whole of the coin-issuing districts south of the Humber at the end of the eighth and the first half of the ninth centuries.

The following summary will give some idea of the extent of the hoard:—

Mercia.—Offa	.	.	.	.	.	1 coin.
„ Coenwulf	.	.	.	.	.	25 „



Mercia.—Ceolwulf I . . . . .	9 coins.
„ Beornwulf . . . . .	4 „
„ Wiglaf . . . . .	4 „
Kent.—Eadberht . . . . .	1 „
„ Cuthred . . . . .	1 „
„ Baldred . . . . .	9 „
Canterbury.—Archbishop Wulfred . . . . .	9 „
„ Sede Vacante . . . . .	8 „
„ Ceolnoð . . . . .	10 „
East Anglia.—Æthelstan I . . . . .	39 „
Wessex.—Ecgbearht . . . . .	92 „
„ Æthelwulf . . . . .	28 „
Charlemagne (denier struck at Mayence) . . . . .	1 „

It will be seen from this summary that the general distribution of the coins throughout the whole of the southern districts is very remarkable, a preponderance in number of the later pieces, however, being in favour of Wessex.

Before proceeding to describe the coins fully, and to give some notes on the more important pieces, I would remark that in the general arrangement I have taken the kingdoms of the Heptarchy in the order as adopted in the *British Museum Catalogue of English Coins*, vols. i., ii. (Anglo-Saxon Series), but in the classification of the types of the coins of each king I have tried to arrive at some chronological sequence, and have not classed the coins according to the alphabetical order of the moneyers' names, as Mr. Keary has done in the first volume of that work. I found this arrangement necessary for the attribution of a few of the coins. In vol. ii. of the *Museum Catalogue* I adopted the chronological sequence of the types, and to that order I shall adhere in the case of the Wessex coins. In this arrangement I have occasionally departed from the order as given by Hawkins in his *Silver Coinage*.

## MERCIA.

OFFA, A.D. 757-796.

1. *Obv.*—✠ OFFA between two dotted lines; below, REX; above, ∴ T ∴.

*Rev.*—∴ EOBAN between two dotted lines with cross pattée at each end; above, ornament, circle with wings; below, three crosses pattées.

*Unpublished.* Pl. III. 1.

The single coin of this king in the hoard varies somewhat in type from those hitherto published. It mostly resembles a coin of that reign struck by the moneyer Osmod, which is in the National Collection.<sup>1</sup> The ornament above the moneyer's name on the reverse is in the form of a winged disk, such as is commonly found on Egyptian monuments. Of the moneyer Eoba the Museum already possesses three coins, which are, however, of much more elaborate designs than the one above described. Eoba was also Cyneðryð's sole moneyer. As there were no other coins of Offa in the hoard, it may safely be assumed that this type was a late one, and probably belongs to quite the end of his reign.

COENWULF, A.D. 796-822.

- 1-3. *Obv.*—✠ COENVVLF REX T. Bust r.<sup>2</sup>

*Rev.*—✠ DEAL LA MO NETAN. Legend divided by three crosses pattées springing from circle in centre; within circle, cross crosslet with pellet in each angle. (3 varieties.)

*B. M. Cat., vol. i., Pl. VIII. 6.*

<sup>1</sup> *B. M. Cat., vol. i., Pl. VII. 13.*

<sup>2</sup> The bust on the obverse and the type on the reverse are always within a circle unless otherwise stated.

4. *Obv.*—✠ DOENVVLF REX T̄. Bust r.  
*Rev.*—✠ DEALLA MONETA. Cross crosslet, pellet in each angle.  
*Rud., Pl. VI. 4.*
5. *Obv.*—✠ DOENVVLF REX T̄. Bust r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—OBĀ TON ETA. Legend divided by three crosses pattées springing from circle in centre; within circle, cross pommée with wedge in each angle.  
*Unpublished. Pl. III. 2.*
6. *Obv.*—✠ DOENVVLF REX T̄. Bust r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ VERHEARDI TONETA. Cross pommée, wedge in each angle.  
*Rud., Pl. VI. 20.*
7. *Obv.*—✠ DOENVVLF REX T̄. Bust r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ DVDA : TONETA. Quatrefoil ornament composed of cross pommée, with crescent enclosing pellet in each angle.  
*Unpublished. Pl. III. 3.*
8. *Obv.*—✠ DOENVVLF REX T̄. Bust r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—OBĀ TON ETA. Legend divided by three crosses pattées springing from circle in centre; within circle, cross moline.  
*B. M. Cat., vol. i., Pl. VIII. 10; Rud., Pl. VI. 8.*
- 9-10. *Obv.*—✠ DOENVVLF REX T̄. Bust r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ DIORTOD TONETA. Small square enclosing pellet with branches at sides and trefoils at each angle; with the exception of the centre leaf of each trefoil, which is patté, the branches and other leaves are pommés; no inner circle. (2 varieties.)  
*Rud., Pl. VI. 11.*
11. *Obv.*—✠ DOENVVLF REX T̄. Bust r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ TIDBEABHT TONETA. Small square enclosing pellet, &c., as last.



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



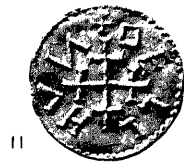
9



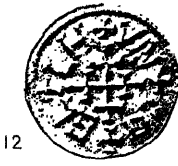
10



11



12



13




14



AUTOTYPE.



- 12-13. *Obv.*—✠ LOENVVLF REX T̄. Bust r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ PERNEARD MONET̄. Small square enclosing pellet, &c., as No. 9. (2 varieties.)
- 14-15. *Obv.*—✠ LOENVVLF REX T̄. Bust r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ PERHEARDI TONETA. Small square enclosing pellet, as on No. 9, but all the leaves of the trefoils are pommés. (2 varieties.)  
*Rud., Pl. VI. 12.*
- 16-19. *Obv.*—✠ LOENVVLF REX T̄. Bust r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ DIORTOD TONET̄. Cross formed of four crescents, horns outwards; in centre, pellet. (4 varieties.)  
*Rud., Pl. VI. 15.*
20. *Obv.*—✠ LOENVVLF REX T̄. Bust r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ TIDBEARH MONET̄. Cross formed of four crescents, &c., as on last.
21. *Obv.*—✠ LOENVVLF REX T̄. Bust r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ PERHEARD MONET̄. Cross formed of four crescents, as on No. 16, but in centre, cross pattée.  
*Unpublished. Pl. III. 4.*
22. *Obv.*—✠ LOENVVLF REX T̄. Bust r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ D.VNN TONET̄. Small cross pattée; around, four crescents, horns outwards, each enclosing pellet; between each crescent, wedge.  
*Unpublished.*
23. *Obv.*—✠ LOENVVLF REX T̄. (4 last letters outwards.) Bust r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ L. V L in angles of quatrefoil, with rosettes of pellets in outer cusps.  
*Rud., Pl. VI. 18.*
24. *Obv.*—✠ LOENVVLF REX T̄. Bust r., diademed.

*Rev.*—P  DEL in angles of long cross pattée, with lozenge-shaped centre, enclosing cross of dots.

*B. M. Cat.*, vol. i., Pl. VIII. 19.

25. *Obv.*— LOENVVLF REX  Bust r.

*Rev.*—VIHTRED, irregularly arranged and divided by limbs of cross moline, with lozenge-shaped dotted centre enclosing cross pattée.

*Unpublished.* Pl. III. 5.

The long reign of this king is well illustrated by the coins in the hoard. The twenty-five coins furnish us with no less than thirteen types, five of which are practically new. All the coins have the bust of the king on the obverse. The eight known types are represented by Nos. 1, 4, 6, 8, 9, 16, 22, and 24, or *Hawkins*, 2, 1, 8, 5, 15, 11, 16, and 18. The five new types are as follows:—  
 (a) No. 5, with the reverse legend divided by three crosses springing from circle in centre, and enclosing cross pommée, with wedge in each angle. This type is similar to No. 6 (*Hawkins*, 8), but in that case the type is enclosed in a plain circle, and there are no crosses dividing the legend. (b) In No. 7 we have a distinctly new type, namely, an ornament composed of a cross pommée, with crescent in each angle enclosing a pellet. This type does not occur elsewhere in the whole Anglo-Saxon series; the nearest approach to it being that figured in *Hawkins*, No. 71, in which instance the ornament is somewhat differently treated. (c) No. 21, with the cross formed of four crescents and a cross pattée in the centre, is a sufficient variety of Nos. 16—20, to constitute a new type, the latter having only a pellet in the centre of the crescents. (d) No. 22 is again a variety of No. 21, and of *Hawkins*, No. 72, in having a pellet within each crescent. (e) No. 25, with the long cross moline having a lozenge-

shaped centre enclosing a cross pattée, is a variety of *Rud.*, *Pl.* VI., which has the long cross pattée and not moline. Like the earliest coins of this reign, the bust on the obverse of this piece is not diademed, but it has this peculiarity, that the circle which surrounds it is continued so as to form the outline of the bust. This form is also to be found on Nos. 23 and 24, on some of the coins of the next reign, and also on coins of Beornwulf. I shall have to notice this peculiarity again later on. This series of the coins of Ceolwulf does not furnish us with any new moneyers' names.

## CEOLWULF I, A.D. 822—823 or 824.

1. *Obv.*—✠ LIOLVVLF REX T. Head r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ EALHTAN TONET. Cross crosslet.  
*Rud.*, *Pl.* D. 22.
2. *Obv.*—✠ LIOLVVLF REX T. Cross crosslet.  
*Rev.*—✠ NILENTEF. Cross crosslet.  
*Num. Chron.*, 1882, *Pl.* IV. 10.
3. *Obv.*—✠ LIOLVVLF REX .: T. Head r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ DOROBRENIV (= Canterbury, reading inwards and backwards). Within circle T.  
*Unpublished.* *Pl.* III. 6.
4. *Obv.*—✠ LIOLVVLF REX T. Bust r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ EALHTAN TONET. Within circle, A, between two wedges; below, crescent.  
*Unpublished.* *Pl.* III. 7.
5. *Obv.*—✠ LIOLVVLF REX T. Head to right.  
*Rev.*—✠ EANVVLF TONET. Within circle, A.  
*Hks.* 87.
6. *Obv.*—✠ LIOLVVLF REX T. Same as the preceding.  
*Rev.*—✠ EDELTOÐ TONET. Same as the preceding.



7. *Obv.*—✠ DEOLVVLF REX T̄. Rude bust r., diademed.

*Rev.*—+ HER + EƿE JHƿ (HEREBERHT) in three lines, divided by two straight lines with crook at each end.

*B. M. Cat.*, vol. i., Pl. IX. 8.

8. *Obv.*—✠ DEOLVVLF REX T̄. Bust r.

*Rev.*—✠ POD DEL TO NETA. In three lines, &c., as last.

*Archæologia*, vol. xviii., Pl. XXXIII. 6.

9. *Obv.*—✠ DEOLVVLL REX T̄. Bust r.; breast represented by a cross.

*Rev.*—Two long crosses on three legs sideways; between them St. Andrew's Cross, with pellet at each end. Above, 2 Aƿ; below, ƿA ƿ (EADGAR).

*B. M. Cat.*, vol. i., Pl. IX. 10.

Although there are no actually new types amongst the coins of Ceolwulf in this hoard, yet there are some which call for remark.

No. 2, with the cross-crosslet on both sides, and bearing the moneyer's name "Sigestef," is not published in *Hankins*, but a specimen occurred in the Delgany hoard which is now in the possession of Sir John Evans. The Delgany specimen is a good deal chipped, but that in the present find is in perfect condition. No. 3 is interesting, as it adds another coin to the Canterbury mint, having on the reverse the inscription "Dorobernia," instead of the moneyer's name. Sir John Evans, in an article on the coins of the Archbishops Jaenberht and Æthilheard,<sup>3</sup> showed how Offa, after the battle of Otford, in A.D. 774, assumed royal authority in Kent, and made it practically a province

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<sup>3</sup> *Num. Chron.*, N. S., vol. v., p. 351.

of Mercia, at the same time taking possession of the mint of Canterbury, where he caused coins to be struck in his own name. From this coin and from others, which will be described later on, it will be seen that this authority was also exercised by Offa's successors, Coenwulf, Ceolwulf I and Beornwulf, but that it ceased from the time of Beornwulf's defeat by Eggebeorht at Ellandune in A.D. 825, after which date Mercia no longer held any authority in Kent, and that kingdom became an appanage of Wessex. The reverse type of the coin bearing the legend "Dorobernia," is the letter  $\mathfrak{A}$ , which, however, has a perpendicular line between the outer limbs, instead of the usual horizontal line. I have called attention to this peculiarity, as, so far as I am aware, it does not occur elsewhere. The coin itself is of rude work. No. 4 might almost be considered a new type, having the letter  $\mathfrak{A}$  on the reverse between two wedge-shaped ornaments, and below it a crescent. It may be compared with the coin figured in *Rud.*, Pl. XXVII. 1, on which there is a wedge instead of a crescent below the letter  $\mathfrak{A}$ . No. 9, with the St. Andrew's cross between two peculiar shaped crosses on the reverse, varies from the specimen already in the Museum in having the first three letters of the moneyer's name EASGAR retrograde, and the bust of the king on the obverse represented by a simple cross. It may, however, be similar in type to the coin which was found in the Delgany hoard, but of which Sir John Evans did not give a full description. In the *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, vol. i., p. 41, Mr. Keary is in doubt as to the moneyer's name being Eadgar, but if we compare this coin with the first one of Beornwulf described below, there can be no longer any uncertainty. The third letter of the king's name has the appearance of an S reversed; it may, however, be the

cursive D reversed, but with the upper part prolonged into a curve, thus giving it the form of S.

The obverse type of the last three coins (Nos. 7—9) presents the same peculiarity as has been noticed on the later coins of Coenwulf, viz., that the circle around the bust is continued so as to form the outline of the figure.

BEORNWULF, A.D. 823 or 824—825.

1. *Obv.*—✠ BEORVVLF RE. Bust r.

*Rev.*— $\frac{\text{EVD}}{\text{ZVR}}$  divided by three St. Andrew's crosses between two straight lines.

*Unpublished.* Pl. III. 8.

2. *Obv.*—✠ BEORNVLF REχ. Head r.

*Rev.*—✠ EVLECV MONET◊. Cross crosslet.

*Rud., Pl. VII.*

3. *Obv.*—✠ BEORHVLF REχ. Rude head r.

*Rev.*—✠ EADHO▷ TOHET. Cross crosslet.

4. *Obv.*—✠ BEORHVLF REχ. Head r.

*Rev.*—✠ ∴ ◊ ∴ M ∴ h ∴ V ∴ L. Same as the preceding.

Pl. III. 9.

The short reign of Beornwulf may well account for the great rarity of his coins, and for their small number in this hoard. These consist of two types, one of which, the cross crosslet on the reverse, is well known; but the other (No. 1) is unpublished. The new type has on the obverse the usual bust of the king within a circle, the ends of which are extended so as to form the outline of the bust; and on the reverse three St. Andrew's crosses side by side between two lines, above and below which is the moneyer's name. Besides its novelty of type, the coin is of additional interest, as it bears the name of the moneyer Eadgar, whom we have seen striking coins in the previous reign. In fact, the

reverse type of this coin and of No. 9 of Ceolwulf I are so similar in design, and so identical in fabric, that there can be no doubt of the dies for both pieces having been made by the same engraver. On the coin of Beornwulf the name of the moneyer is clearly Eadgar, though some of the letters are irregularly placed: this piece, therefore, confirms the reading of the name on the coin of Ceolwulf. From this and the other three coins of this reign it would appear as though the engravers of the dies had suddenly launched out into using forms of letters which, though common in manuscripts, are yet not usually found on the coinage of the period. Thus, for the usual form of L we get  $\mathfrak{L}$ , or a degraded shape  $\mathfrak{z}$ ; for X there is  $\mathfrak{X}$ , i.e. two crescents back to back, or  $\mathfrak{X}$ , which may be a combination of X and T; for T the form  $\mathfrak{T}$ ; for M those of  $\mathfrak{M}$  and  $\mathfrak{M}$ ; and for N the rounded form  $\mathfrak{N}$ . As we have said, these forms are most unusual and exceptional in the case of coin inscriptions.

The inscription on the reverse of No. 4 is somewhat enigmatical. To read the letters  $\mathfrak{E} \mathfrak{M} \mathfrak{H} \mathfrak{V} \mathfrak{E}$ , as comprising only those of the moneyer's name, seems impossible, even if we were to supply various vowels or to transpose the letters. It therefore seems most probable that we have here something more than the moneyer's name only, and as each letter is divided by several pellets, I would suggest that the letters are initial ones, and would propose the following solution. Assuming that naturally the first letter is the initial of the moneyer, the inscription would run,  $\mathfrak{T}$  (Tidbearht or Tatel),  $\mathfrak{M}$   $\mathfrak{H}$  (Monetarius),  $\mathfrak{V}$  (Vrbis),  $\mathfrak{E}$  (Cantuariorum). I cannot meet elsewhere with the form of  $\mathfrak{V}$  as an abbreviation for "urbis," but it may be a possible one when we remember that later on in the coinage of Wessex  $\mathfrak{AN} \mathfrak{E} \mathfrak{L} \mathfrak{O}$  frequently stands for  $\mathfrak{AN} \mathfrak{E} \mathfrak{L} \mathfrak{O} \mathfrak{R} \mathfrak{U} \mathfrak{M}$ . If this reading is correct, it would show that Beornwulf

still exercised some authority over the Canterbury mint like his predecessors. If these coins were struck at Canterbury, may it not also be suggested that those of Ceolwulf and Beornwulf, which have one or more St. Andrew's crosses for the reverse type, were issued at Rochester, the church in that city being dedicated to St. Andrew, and where we know that Ecgbeorht a few years later had a mint. Further, if this attribution holds good, then I would also give to the Rochester mint all those coins of Coenwulf and Ceolwulf I, which are peculiar in having the outline of the bust on the obverse formed by the extension of the inner circle.

WIGLAF, A.D. 825.

Dep. 827 (P): Rest. 828-839.

1. *Obv.*—✠ VVILL·A F REX T̄. Bust r.  
*Rev.*—✠ BVRG . . . PERD. Cross crosslet, pellet in each angle; no inner circle.  
*Unpublished var.* Pl. III. 10.
2. *Obv.*—✠ VVILLAF REX T̄. Head r. (rude work).  
*Rev.*—✠ / ELLHV. Cross crosslet; no inner circle.  
*Var. of Rud., Pl. XXIX. 19.* Pl. III. 11.
3. *Obv.*—✠ VVILL·A·E REX T̄. Head r.  
*Rev.*—✠ □ ✠ EL ✠ LH ✠ VN ✠. Cross crosslet; no inner circle; the crosses which divide the legend are opposite the limbs of the central cross.  
*Rud., Pl. XXIX. 19; Hks. 80.* Pl. III. 12.
4. *Obv.*—✠ VVIL<sup>L</sup>AF R·E·✠ T̄. Within circle of dots, cross pommée, pellet in each angle.  

D

*Rev.*—✠ REDTA. The letters D and h are in lunettes.  

h

*Cf. B. M. Cat., vol. i., Pl. IX. 15.* Pl. III. 13.

Of Ludican, Wiglaf's predecessor, the find contained no coins. Until the discovery of this hoard only three coins of Wiglaf were known to exist; two of these, one of which is in the British Museum, the other in the possession of Mr. Rashleigh, are of the type of No. 4; the third specimen, as No. 3, also belongs to Mr. Rashleigh. Of the above coins Nos. 1 and 2 are unpublished varieties of the cross-crosslet type, the first having a pellet in each angle of the cross; the second has no crosses dividing the words of the legend on the reverse. On No. 1 the circle enclosing the head of the king is extended into the line of the inscription so as to indicate slightly the outline of the bust. On the other specimens of this type the circle entirely surrounds the head, and the legend is continuous. No. 4 is a variety of the two published specimens, having no pellets before or after the letters of the moneyer's name in the lunettes above and below the central inscription.

No. 1 adds a new name, Burghred, to the list of moneyers of this reign, and from the manner in which that on Nos. 2 and 3 is divided, I would suggest that it reads "Oellhun," and not "Hunoell," as it has generally been interpreted.

All these coins appear to belong to the early part of Wiglaf's reign, that is, before his deposition by Ecgbeorht in A.D. 827; and as none existed in the hoard, or are known, which could be classed to the period after his restoration, A.D. 828—838, it may be concluded that during that time he held Mercia as tributary to Ecgbeorht, and was in consequence not accorded the right of striking coins in his own name. Of this I shall make further mention when we come to the coins of Wessex in the hoard. As Ecgbeorht had some two years previously

asserted his authority over Kent, it is most probable that all the coins of Wiglaf were struck in London.

# KENT.

EADBERHT II, A.D. 796-798.

1. *Obv.*—·. EAD. BEARH ·. REX, in three lines divided by two straight lines, ends pommés.

*Rev.*—✠ E▷ : EL ·. ·M : ⊙ . D. in two lines ; plain lines dividing legend ; above ornament —[ + ]—

*Cf. Rud., Pl. XXVI.*

This coin is a variety of the specimen in the Museum and of that figured in *Rud., Pl. XXVI.*, in having a cross between two ornaments in the upper part of the reverse type, instead of the letter T, and the last three letters of the moneyer's name in the lower part.

OUTHERED, A.D. 798-807.

1. *Obv.*—EVD RED REX. Tribach voided in centre and having annulet at end of each limb dividing legend ; in centre, small tribach with dot in each angle.

*Rev.*—SIS EBE RH. Tribach moline dividing legend ; the centre is voided and contains a small tribach.

*Rud., Pl. III. 4.*

This coin is of the same type as *Rud., Pl. III. 4.*, and described by *Hawkins*, p. 33, 3, but no mention is made by the latter where a specimen exists. Sigeberht was also a moneyer of Coenwulf, and if we compare the above coin with that of Coenwulf, bearing the same moneyer's name, in the British Museum,<sup>4</sup> it is evident that both pieces were issued by the same person. The workmanship of both coins is of the same style, and the

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<sup>4</sup> *B. M. Cat., vol. i., p. 39, 100.*

moneyer's name is divided in the same manner. As no doubt all the coins of Cuthred were struck at Canterbury, this piece helps to confirm the view expressed on more than one occasion by Sir John Evans,<sup>5</sup> that the coins of Coenwulf of Mercia, with the type of the tribrach representing the archiepiscopal pall, were struck at that city.

BALDRED, A.D. 807 : Dep. 825.

1. *Obv.*—✠ BALDRED REX EAN. Head r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ OBA TONETA. Within circle DE VR  
OITN (DOROVERNIA CIVITAS).  
*Cf. Rud., Pl. III. 1.*
2. *Obv.*—✠ BELDRED REX EAN. Cross crosslet.  
*Rev.*—✠ NVVEFNE MO. Cross pattée.  
*Rud., Pl. III. 3.*
3. *Obv.*—✠ BELDRED REX. Cross pattée.  
*Rev.*—✠ NILENTEF. Cross pattée.  
*Cf. B. M. Cat., vol. i., Pl. XI. 11.*
- 4-5. *Obv.*—✠ BELDRED REX EAN. Cross pattée.  
*Rev.*—✠ TIDBEARHT. Cross pattée, one limb fourché.  
 (2 varieties.)  
*Cf. Num. Chron., O.S., vol. xv. p. 102.*
6. *Obv.*—✠ BELDRED REX EAN. Cross pattée.  
*Rev.*—DI OR TO DT. Legend divided by cross, three limbs fourchés, one patté, with voided centre enclosing cross pattée.  
*Unpublished. Pl. III. 14.*
7. *Obv.*—✠ BALDRED REX EAN. Cross pattée.  
*Rev.*—✠ O B A. Legend divided by four limbs of cross moline with centre voided and enclosing cross pattée with pellet in each angle.  
*Cf. Rud., Pl. III. 2.*

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<sup>5</sup> *Num. Chron.*, N. S., v., p. 360 ; and 3rd Ser. ii., p. 72 *seq.*



8. *Obv.*—✠ BELDRED REX EAN. Cross pattée, pellet in each angle.

*Rev.*—✠ O B A. Cross moline, &c., as on previous coin; but no pellets in angles of cross pattée in voided centre.

9. *Obv.*—✠ BELDRED REX EAN. Cross pattée, pellet in each angle.

*Rev.*—: ✠ O B A. Cross moline, &c., as on No. 7.

The coinage of this king is well represented in the hoard, for out of seven hitherto published types there are five, and in addition one new type and two unpublished varieties. The types already known are represented by Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 7, or *Hawkins*, 1, 5, 6, 7, and 4. The unpublished type is that described under No. 6. It is somewhat similar to No. 7 (*Rud.*, *Pl. III.*, 2), but differs from that coin in having no pellets in the angles of the cross on the obverse, and the legend on the reverse divided by a long cross, three limbs fourchés and one pattée; the centre, which is voided, contains a cross pattée only. No. 7 is a variety of *Rud.*, *Pl. III.*, 2, in having no pellets in the angles of the cross on the obverse, and No. 8 is again another variety of the same type, there being no pellets in the angles of the cross on the reverse.

The moneyer Sigestef also worked for Ceolwulf I (*see* No. 2, p. 35). This is apparent from the inscriptions on the reverses of the two coins, which are identical. After Baldred's banishment, Sigestef entered the service of Ecgbeorht (*see* No. 76, p. 60, and *B. M. Cat.*, vol. ii. p. 3).

#### CANTERBURY.

WULFRED, A.D. 805-832.

1-3. *Obv.*—✠ VVLFRED A·REHĪEPIN. Head facing, tonsured.

*Rev.*—✠ VILNOD MONET̄. Within circle,  $\overline{DRVR}$   
 $\overline{LITN}$   
 (DOROVERNIA CIVITAS). (3 varieties; one has pellet each side of bust.)

*Hks.* 144.

4-6. *Obv.*—✠ VVLFRED ARCHIEPĪ. Bust facing, tonsured, dividing inscription; three pellets on each side.

*Rev.*—✠ SÆBERHT MONET̄. Within circle, monogram  $\text{SÆ}$  (for DOROVERNIA LIVI). (3 varieties; one has no pellets on each side of bust, and reads TONET̄.)

*Rud.*, *Pl.* XIII. 1.

7-8. *Obv.*—VVLFRED ꝛ ARCHIEPĪ. Bust facing, tonsured, dividing inscription; three pellets on each side.

*Rev.*—✠ SVVEFHERD MONET̄. Within circle, monogram as on previous coins. (2 varieties; one has no pellets on each side of bust.)

9. *Obv.*—✠ ȝLFRED ARĒERN. Bust facing, tonsured, dividing inscription.

*Rev.*—✠ SȝEFHEARD MOH. Within circle, monogram  $\text{Sȝ}$  (for DOROB L).

*Unpublished.* *Pl.* IV. 1.

Of Wulfred's predecessor, Æthelheard (A.D. 793—805), who struck coins with the names of the contemporary kings of Mercia, Offa and Coenwulf, the hoard contained no coins. Of Wulfred himself we have nine coins, which, besides supplying three out of the five types enumerated by Hawkins, give us one new one. They also add the name of Wilnoð to the list of moneyers of the archbishop. This moneyer's name occurs again on the interregnum or "Sede Vacante" coins, which I shall ascribe to the period between the death of Wulfred and the investiture of Ceolnoð, his successor.

The new type is No. 9. It has the usual bust of the archbishop on the obverse, and on the reverse the monogram of "Dorobernia," differing from that on his other coins; but of the same form as is found on the coins of Ceolnoð, and on those of Ecgbeorht. The early occurrence of this form is of importance, as it helps to prove that the monogram on the coins of Ecgbeorht does not represent the first five letters of the name of that king, EEBOR, as Hawkins conjectured, but those of the mint of Canterbury, DOROB.C. It would be quite within the bounds of possibility that Wulfred, following the example of his predecessors, might have placed the name of his over-king on his coins, since Ecgbeorht held Kent from the defeat of Baldred in A.D. 825; yet it is much more probable that the archbishop should adhere to the usual type of his coins, though it may have been in a somewhat modified form. Though used by the archbishop, this new form of monogram may have been instituted by Ecgbeorht, and as we know now from the coin of Wulfred, it must have formed one of the earliest types of his coins struck at Canterbury. We are thus enabled to fix the date of its first use within the limit of a year or two. In pointing out the resemblance of this monogram to the Karolus monogram on the coins of Charles the Great, Mr. Keary<sup>6</sup> had forestalled, so to say, the discovery of this coin of Wulfred in observing that, though the type occurs on the coins of Ceolnoð, yet there was nothing to negative the supposition that that archbishop copied it from the coinage of Ecgbeorht, or in fact to disprove that it was in use before the accession of Ceolnoð.

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<sup>6</sup> *B. M. Cat.*, vol. ii., Introduction, p. xv.

## SEDE VACANTE COINS OF CANTERBURY, A.D. 832-833.

- 1-2. *Obv.*—✠ LVNINꝚ MONETꝚ. Head facing, tonsured; dots on each side.

*Rev.*—✠ · DORO BERNIA LIVITA · S ·, in five lines across field. (2 varieties.)

*Cf. Rud., Pl. XIII. 4.*

3. *Obv.*—✠ SVVEFHERD MONETA. Head facing, tonsured.

*Rev.*—✠ · DORO BERNIA LIVITA · S ·, as on the preceding.

4. *Obv.*—✠ VILNOD MONETꝚ. Head facing, tonsured.

*Rev.*—✠ · DORO BERNIA LIVITA · S ·, as on No. 1.

5. *Obv.*—✠ DIORTOD TONETꝚ. Head r., diademed.

*Rev.*—DOROB ERNIAE IVITA S, in three lines across field; above, · ·; below, · ·

*Cf. Rud., Pl. XIII. 2.*

- 6-7. *Obv.*—OBA TON ETA divided by three crosses pattées issuing from circle, within which bust r., diademed.

*Rev.*—✠ · DOROB ERNIAE IVITA S, in five lines across field. (2 varieties.)

*Unpublished. Pl. IV. 2.*

8. *Obv.*—✠ SVVEFNERD MONETꝚ. Head r., diademed.

*Rev.*—DOROB ERNIAE IVITA S in three lines across field; above, · ·; below, · ·

Of this interesting series of coins with the name of the moneyer on the obverse in the place of the archbishop or the king, the hoard contained eight specimens, four with the head facing and four with the head in profile. All the moneyers' names which are found on these coins occur also on coins of Baldred of Kent and Wulfred, the archbishop. All the coins have for reverse type

the name of the mint, Dorobernia, in three or four lines across the field. The full-faced bust is certainly intended to represent that of an archbishop, as it is tonsured; but that in profile is a royal head, as it is diademed.

Concerning the date of issue of these coins Hawkins does not give us any very definite information, but merely remarks, "that if we compare these coins as to style, type, and moneyers' names, there can be little doubt but that they were struck by that prelate (*i.e.* Wulfred). Those with the side-face, which is less certainly ecclesiastical than the full-face, may have been struck at Canterbury by Coenwulf himself." Mr. Keary<sup>7</sup> has been, however, more definite, and is of opinion that these coins were struck during the interval between the death of one archbishop and the investiture of his successor, and from the evidence of the moneyers' names he would ascribe them to the interval between the death of Wulfred and the investiture of Ceolnoð, a period of about eight months. I am more inclined to accept Mr. Keary's view for several reasons. The coins with the bust of the archbishop are very similar to those of Wulfred, on which the bust does not divide the legend. These bear the names of Luning, Saeberht, Swefheard and Wilnoð, the only known moneyers of Wulfred. The coins with the bust in profile have the names of Diormod, Oba, Sigestef, and Swefheard, all moneyers of Baldred of Kent. We thus see that with the exception of Swefheard, who appears to have held a double appointment, viz., under Baldred and under Wulfred, the archiepiscopal and the royal moneyers adopted distinct types for the obverses of their coins, but one type only for the reverses. This uniformity of

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<sup>7</sup> *B. M. Cat.*, vol. i., p. 73.

reverse type would also prove that not only do the coins belong to one issue, but that it was of short duration, for had it extended over any considerable period there certainly would not have been that uniformity.<sup>8</sup> It should also be noticed that amongst all these moneyers there is not one who struck coins for Ceolnoð, that is if Swefheard and Swebheard are not the same person. This issue must, therefore, have preceded his accession to the See of Canterbury. It may at first sight seem difficult to understand why the royal moneyers adopted the same reverse type as their archiepiscopal brethren, but it is not impossible that after the death of Wulfred, when some of the former moneyers of Baldred found those attached to the archiepiscopal mint striking coins in their own name, they saw an opportunity of renewing their old privilege, and so followed the example set them by the archiepiscopal moneyers. This seems the only way to account for this uniformity of reverse type but diversity of obverse type. Besides that, it is scarcely conceivable that these coins could have been issued at any other time than that to which Mr. Keary has assigned them, as it would otherwise have been a great breach of authority for the moneyers of the archbishop or those of the king to have substituted their names for those of their masters on the obverse of the coin. Whether the bust in profile is intended to represent Ecgbeorht or Æthelwulf, who was at that time king of Kent, is uncertain. It could not be Baldred's, as the date to which we would assign these coins is seven years after his deposition.




Amongst the eight coins of this class in the hoard,

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<sup>8</sup> The coin of Swefheard, *Rud.*, Pl. XIII. 3, appears to be a "mule"; the obverse is of the "Sede Vacante" type, but the reverse is from a die of Wulfred's coinage.

there are only two which need any notice. These are Nos. 6 and 7, which were struck by the moneyer Oba. On the obverse his name is divided by three crosses pattées springing from the circle which surrounds the diademed bust. This type is not unlike that on coins struck by the same moneyer for Baldred, with this exception, that in the latter case the crosses are molines and not pattées.

CEOLNOÐ, A.D. 833-870.

1. *Obv.*—✠ LIALNO Ð ƿREEP. Bust facing, tonsured, dividing legend.  
*Rev.*—+ BIORNMOD TONETA. Monogram,  (DOROB E).  
*B. M. Cat.*, vol. i., Pl. XIII. 7.
2. *Obv.*—✠ LIALNO Ð ARE. Bust facing, &c., as on previous coin.  
*Rev.*—✠ VVNERE TOHETƿ. Monogram,  (DOROBERNIA EIVIT).  
*Unpublished.*
3. Similar to the preceding, but the monogram on the reverse is degraded in form.
- 4-5. *Obv.*—✠ LIALNO D ARÉE. Bust facing, &c., as before.  
*Rev.*—✠ BIORNTOD MOHET. Monogram as on last. (2 varieties.)
- 6-9. *Obv.*—✠ LIALNO Ð ARE. Bust facing, tonsured, dividing legend.  
*Rev.*—✠ BIORNTOD TONET or TONETA. Monogram,  (DOROV E ?). (4 varieties.)  
*Rud.*, Pl. XIII. 7.
10. *Obv.*—✠ LIALNO D ARE. Bust facing, &c., as on the preceding.  
*Rev.*—✠ VVNERE TONETA. Monogram as on the preceding.



ANGLO-SAXON COINS.





There is nothing of a very special nature to notice on any of the coins of this archbishop. They are all of one type only, or at most varieties of one type. On No. 1 we meet with the Canterbury monogram, which was noticed as occurring for the first time on a coin of Wulfred. The other form of the monogram (not previously known on coins of Ceolnoð) is the same as on coins of Wulfred, but it soon assumes a very degraded form, so as almost to become unidentifiable with the name of "Dorobernia." The absence from the hoard of the other known types of this archbishop may probably be accounted for by the circumstance that they were not in use till after its burial.

## EAST ANGLIA.

ÆTHELSTAN I, CIRC. A.D. 825-837.

1. *Obv.*— . . . Γ VTAH . Circle of dots enclosing pellet.  
*Rev.*—DBEREL . . . . Cross of pellets.  
*Unpublished.* Pl. IV. 3.
- 2-4. *Obv.*—+ EÞEΓVTI R. In centre, A.  
*Rev.*—+ RELNETP. In centre, circle enclosing pellet.  
 (2 varieties, 1 duplicate.)  
 Pl. IV. 4.
5. *Obv.*—✠ EDEL∞TAN. In centre, Ā.  
*Rev.*—✠ R·E·X::A::NL. In centre, J̄.  
*Unpublished.*
- 6-7. *Obv.*—✠ EDE::L·∅·T·ANI. In centre, Ā; pellets below, and on left.  
*Rev.*—✠ TORHTHELH. Cross pattée; pellet in each angle. (2 varieties.)  
*Rud.*, Pl. IX. 2; *Haigh*, Pl. I. 12.

8. *Obv.*—✠ EDELSTANI. In centre,  $\overline{A}$ .  
*Rev.*—✠ TORHTELH. Cross pattée; wedge in each angle.  
*Haigh, Pl. I. 11.*
9. *Obv.*—✠ E▷ELSTANI. In centre,  $\overline{A}$ .  
*Rev.*—✠ TORHTE ·L·H. Cross moline.  
*Num. Chron. N.S. 1864, p. 190.*
- 10-14. *Obv.*—✠ EDEL∞TAN. Within circle,  $\overline{A}$ .  
*Rev.*—✠ REX ·A·N̄ L. Within circle,  $\overline{U}$ . (5 varieties: two specimens read, EDEL∞TAN).  
*Rud., Pl. IX. 7; Haigh, Pl. I. 8.*
15. *Obv.*—✠ . . . L∞TAN. Within circle,  $\overline{A}$ .  
*Rev.*—✠ REX A . . Within circle,  $\overline{U}$ . (Fragment.)
16. *Obv.*—✠ EDEL∞TAN. Within circle,  $\overline{A}$ .  
*Rev.*—✠ E▷ELT ANDE× (outwards from right to left).  
 Within circle,  $\overline{A}$ .
17. Similar: reverse legend reading E▷ELIT ANDE×.
- 18-20. *Obv.*—✠ E▷EL∞TANI (dots). Within circle,  $\overline{A}$ ; around, dots.  
*Rev.*—MOH ✠ MOHE TA, in three lines across field; numerous dots. (3 varieties.)  
*Haigh, Pl. I. 7.*
21. *Obv.*—✠ E▷EL∞TANI (dots). Within circle,  $\overline{A}$ .  
*Rev.*—✠ MOS ✠ MOSRE TA, in three lines across field; numerous dots.
22. *Obv.*—✠ E▷EL∞TANI. Within circle,  $\overline{A}$ .  
*Rev.*—✠ HON HONET. Cross pattée; pellet in each angle.  
*Haigh, Pl. II. 1.*
- 23-24. *Obv.*—EDET<sup>∞</sup> AN REX A. Cross pattée.  
*Rev.*—AEBELHEH HO. Cross pattée. (2 varieties.)  
*Rud., Pl. IX. 4; Haigh, Pl. II. 3.*

- 25-26. *Obv.*—✠ EPEL∞TANI. Same type.  
*Rev.*—✠ EADHOD HOH. Same type. (2 specimens.)
- 27-28. *Obv.*—✠ EADELSTAH RE. Cross pattée; pellet in each angle.  
*Rev.*—✠ AEDELNE·L·H HO. Cross pattée. (2 varieties.)  
*Haigh, Pl. II. 5.*
29. *Obv.*—EBIL·ET·A·H R·A. Same type.  
*Rev.*—HOH HOH·ET. Same type.
30. *Obv.*—✠ EAÐEFSTAH RE. Cross pattée, pellet in each angle.  
*Rev.*—EBEALNE·JH HO: Cross pattée, pellet in each angle.  
*Rud., Pl. IX. 9; Haigh, Pl. II. 7.*
31. *Obv.*—✠ EDEL∞TAH RE AI. Same type.  
*Rev.*—✠ EDHODNNRHA. Same type.
- 32-33. *Obv.*—EDEL∞TAH RE AI. Same type.  
*Rev.*—✠ HOH HOHET. Same type. (2 varieties.)
34. *Obv.*—✠ EADEL∞TAN. Same type.  
*Rev.*—✠ MON MONET. Same type.
35. *Obv.*—✠ EDELSTAN RE. Cross pattée, pellet in each angle.  
*Rev.*—✠ EAD<sup>T</sup>AR MOHE. Cross pattée, wedge in each angle.  
*Unpublished.*
36. *Obv.*—EADEL·STAH RE. Same type.  
*Rev.*—TVDVPINE HO. Same type.
37. *Obv.*—✠ AEDELNTAN RE. Cross pattée, wedge in each angle.  
*Rev.*—AEDEL·ELH H<sup>T</sup>·O·H. Cross pattée, pellet in each angle.  
*Haigh, Pl. II. 11.*

38. *Obv.*—✠ EDELSTAN RE. Same type.

*Rev.*—✠ EADƿAR NNONE. Same type.

39. *Obv.*—EDELSTAN RE · ƿ · Cross pattée, wedge in each angle.

*Rev.*—TVDVƿINE HHO. Cross pattée.

*Unpublished.*

This is the only king of East Anglia of whom there are coins in the hoard,<sup>9</sup> although Eadwald, Æthelstan's predecessor and Æthelweard his successor, lived well within the period which it embraces.

No coins were found with the bust of the king on the obverse; but the series without the bust is singularly complete, for not only do all the types described by Hawkins occur, but there are three not given by him, and at least one new variety.

If the hoard has not been very fruitful in supplying new types, it has been serviceable in another way, inasmuch as it enables us to attribute certain coins, or rather a certain coin, in the National Collection, about which there has been some difference of opinion as to which reign it belongs. The particular coin to which I refer is that described in the *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, vol. i., p. 89, and which has on the obverse the inscription EƿEFHTR. This coin Mr. Kenyon<sup>10</sup> attributed to Æthelstan I, because "it resembles his coins much more than those of any other king." On the other hand Mr. Keary writes,<sup>11</sup> "the type and lettering closely resemble those on some of his (Æthelstan's) coins. But they do not greatly differ from those on

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<sup>9</sup> I have very recently seen a coin of Eadwald, a duplicate of that in the Museum (*B. M. Cat.*, vol. i., Pl. XIV. 3), which I strongly suspect came from the same hoard.

<sup>10</sup> *Hks.*, p. 60, n.

<sup>11</sup> *B. M. Cat.*, vol. i., p. 89.

some of Æthelweard's coins; and by the transposition of a single letter the obverse of the piece before us may be read Eðelwart. No possible transposition of letters on either side can give the reading Eðelstan." The evidence afforded by the first four coins described above shows that Mr. Kenyon was right in attributing the coin to Æthelstan, and that Mr. Keary was in error when he assigned it to Æthelweard. For some time I was inclined to see in the inscription on the obverse the name of an unknown king of East Anglia, Eðelwith (?); but from the first I did not feel sure of this attribution, and as this opinion could not be supported by any historical evidence, I sought for another solution. It could be seen at a glance that if the coin was not struck by Æthelstan I it must have been issued by an immediate predecessor, and could certainly not be put to so late a date as the reign of Æthelweard. What has caused the whole difficulty has been the fifth letter in the inscription. This was taken by Mr. Keary to be the Saxon *ƿ*, but with an open top. Mr. Kenyon gives it as a V. This letter, however, is not a *ƿ*, but it is a survival of the Runic sign for S. This form of S is not unfrequently found in Welsh Runic inscriptions; but perhaps the most remarkable instance is its occurrence on the so-called "Thames Sword" in the British Museum, which is described by Stephens in his *Runic Monuments*, vol. i. p. 361. The king's name on the coin in question, therefore, plainly reads EðELSTN (Eðelstan), and from its type and fabric it must be attributed to one of the earliest issues of Æthelstan I. It is unfortunate that the first coin described above is only a fragment, and in consequence the inscriptions on both sides are incomplete. Yet enough of that on the obverse is left to show that in some instances the final vowel A was

not always omitted, and that in full the inscription could only have been EÐEFYTAN. It was partly due to this fragment that I abandoned the idea of finding the name of some unknown king; whilst its close resemblance in type and fabric to those coins without the final vowel convinced me that all belonged to the same reign. The partial survival of Runic letters to so late a date is not improbable, seeing that they are found on coins of Æthelbearht, who was murdered by Offa in A.D. 794.<sup>12</sup>

As has been mentioned, nearly all the types of the above coins of Æthelstan are given by Hawkins. There are, however, a few pieces which are now met with for the first time. No. 1, the fragment already referred to, is of quite a new type, having on the obverse a pellet within a circle, and on the reverse a cross formed of pellets. The moneyer's name is uncertain. Nos. 2—4, with the inscription EÐEFTV, are varieties of the coin with a similar inscription already in the Museum, which has a cross pommée on the reverse. The pellet within a circle, however, occurs on other coins of Æthelstan.<sup>13</sup> These pieces supply a new moneyer's name, Regnelm. No. 5, which has no circle around the  $\omega$  on the reverse, is a variety of Hawkins type 10. Nos. 35 and 36, which have on the obverse the cross pattée with pellet in each angle, and on the reverse the cross with wedge in each angle, and again, No. 39, with the cross pattée with wedge in each angle on the obverse, and a plain cross pattée on the reverse, are


<sup>12</sup> Since the above was written, Sir John Evans has read a paper before the Numismatic Society on a find of Sceattas made near Cambridge, some of which have Runic legends. These the author would assign to East Anglia and to a period not earlier than the middle of the eighth century

<sup>13</sup> *B. M. Cat.*, vol. i., Pl. XIV. 11.

new types. No. 9, with the cross moline on the reverse, is of a very rare type, only one other specimen being known, viz. that found in Northamptonshire, and published by Archdeacon Pownall in the *Num. Chron.* 1864, p. 190. The specimen in this hoard is, however, a slight variety of the Northamptonshire coin, as it has no pellets on either side of the letter A on the obverse. Nos. 16 and 17 have the name of the king on both sides; but the title REX on the reverse only.

## WESSEX.

ECGBEORHT, A.D. 802-838.

- 1-3. *Obv.*—✠ ELLBAR HT REX. Bust r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ BIORHTOD TONET $\pi$ . Monogram,  (DOROB. O). (3 varieties.)  
*Cf. B. M. Cat., vol. ii., Pl. I. 1; Rud., Pl. XIV. 2.*
- 4-6. Similar; but reverse legend ending TONE $\pi$ . (3 varieties.)
- 7-10. *Obv.*—✠ ELL BEAR HT REX. Bust r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ BIORNTOD TONET $\pi$  Monogram as on No. 1.  
 (4 varieties, two broken.)
- 11-13. Similar; but reverse legend reading ✠ BIORHTOD TONE $\pi$ . (3 varieties.)
14. *Obv.*—ELLBEAR HT REX. Bust r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ BIORHTOD TOHETA. Monogram as on No. 1.
15. Similar; but reverse legend ending TONET.
16. Similar; but reverse legend reading ✠ BIORHNOD TONE[T], and four pellets around monogram.
- 17-18. *Obv.*—✠ ELLBETRH REX. Bust r., diademed, not dividing legend.  
*Rev.*—✠ BIORHTOD TONETA. Monogram as on No. 1.  
 (2 varieties.)
19. *Obv.*—Similar, but reverse legend ending TONE $\pi$ .



20-21. Similar; but reverse legend ending TONET. (2 varieties.)

22. *Obv.*—✠ ELLBETRHT R. Bust r., diademed.

*Rev.*—✠ BIORHTOD TONETA. Monogram as on No. 1.

23. *Obv.*—✠ ELLBEAR HT REX. Bust r., diademed.

*Rev.*—✠ BONEL MO NETA. Monogram as on No. 1.

24. Similar; legend on reverse ending MONETV.

25. Similar; legend on reverse ending MONETV ✠.

26-28. *Obv.*—✠ ELLBETRHT REX. Bust r., diademed.

*Rev.*—✠ BONEL TONETΛ: Monogram as on No. 1.  
(3 varieties.)

29. *Obv.*—✠ ELLBEAR HT REX. Bust r., diademed.

*Rev.*—✠ DEALLA MONETΛ. Monogram as on No. 1,  
surrounded by four pellets.

30. Similar; the king's name reads ELLBEAR NT, and monogram on reverse is within three pellets.

31. *Obv.*—✠ ELLBEAR H REX. Bust r., diademed.

*Rev.*—✠ DEIBVS MONETΛ. Monogram as on No. 1,  
but somewhat blundered.

32-35. *Obv.*—✠ ELLBEAR HT REX. Bust r., diademed.

*Rev.*—✠ DIORTOD TNET. Monogram as on No. 1,  
surrounded by four pellets. (3 varieties.)

36. Similar; reverse legend ending TNET̄, and two pellets only on left of monogram.

37. Similar; reverse legend ending TNET̄, and one pellet only on right of monogram.

38-44. Similar; reverse legend ending TNET, TNET̄: or TNET̄, and no pellets around monogram. (7 varieties.)

45. *Obv.*—✠ ELLBEAR HT REX. Bust r., diademed.

*Rev.*—✠ DVDINE TONETA. Monogram as on No. 1.

- 46-49. *Obv.*—✠ ELLBEAR HT REX. Bust r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ OBA MONETA. Monogram as on No. 1. (4 varieties.)
- 50-51. Similar; reverse legend ending MONETA, and MONETA. (2 varieties.)
- 52-53. *Obv.*—✠ ELL·B·E·A·R HT REX. Bust r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ OSMVHD MONETA. Monogram as on No. 1. (2 varieties.)
54. *Obv.*—✠ ELLBEAR HT REX. Bust r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ NVAEFHEARD MOH. Monogram as on No. 1.
55. Similar; two pellets on left of monogram.
56. *Obv.*—✠ ELLBEV RHT R. Bust r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ NYEFNEARD MO. Monogram as on No. 1.
57. *Obv.*—✠ ELLBEV RHT R. Bust r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ ✠ NYEFNVRD MON. Monogram as on No. 1.
58. *Obv.*—✠ ELLBEVR NT RE. Bust r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ NYETHEVRD MO. Monogram as on No. 1.
- 59-60. *Obv.*—✠ ELLBEA RHT RE. Bust r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ TIDBEARHT. Monogram as on No. 1. (2 varieties.)
61. *Obv.*—✠ ELLBEV RHT RE. Bust r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ TIDBEARNT. Monogram as on No. 1.
62. *Obv.*—✠ ELLBEA RNT REX. Bust r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ T·IDB·E·AR·NT. Monogram as on No. 1, but surrounded by four pellets.
63. *Obv.*—✠ ELLBEAR HT REX. Bust r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ TIDB·E·AR·NT. Monogram as on No. 1, but surrounded by three pellets.
- 64-66. *Obv.*—✠ ELLBEAR HT REX. Bust r., diademed.

- Rev.*—✠ TILVVINE MONETA. Monogram as on No. 1, but pellet on right. (3 varieties.)
67. *Obv.*—✠ EELBEV RHT REX. Bust r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ TILVVINE MONETA. Monogram as on No. 1.
- 68-69. Similar; legend on obverse reading ✠ EELBEANT REX. (2 varieties.)
70. *Obv.*—EELBEORHT REX. Bust to r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ ZEZ ANDREAZ. Within circle, monogram  
 ⚡ (A and Ω.)  
*B. M. Cat., vol. ii., Pl. I. 2; Hks. 158.*
- 71 *Obv.*—✠ EELBEORHT RE. Bust r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ NES ANDREAS KPO. Within circle, in  
 STS  
 centre OLV  
*Unpublished. Pl. IV. 5.*
72. *Obv.*—EELBEORHT REX. Bust r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ ZEZ ANDREAZ. Cross, two limbs molines,  
 two limbs pattés.<sup>14</sup>  
*B. M. Cat., vol. ii., Pl. I. 3.*
73. *Obv.*—EELBEORHT RE. Bust r., diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ DVVN TONETA. Cross pattée.  
*Unpublished. Pl. IV. 6.*
- 74-75. *Obv.*—✠ HELBEARHT REX. Cross pattée.  
*Rev.*—✠ DIORTOD THET. Cross crosslet. (2 varieties.)  
*B. M. Cat., vol. ii., Pl. I. 7.*
76. *Obv.*—✠ ELOBEDRNT REX. Same as the preceding.  
*Rev.*—✠ NILENTEF. Same as the preceding. (Double struck.)
77. *Obv.*—✠ EELBEARHT REX. Cross pattée.

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<sup>14</sup> I have lately seen another coin of this type, but reading on the reverse DVNN TONETA, which I suspect to have been in this hoard.

*Rev.*—✠ OBA TONETA. Cross pattée. (Broken.)

*Num. Chron.* 1882, p. 65.

78. *Obv.*—✠ HEBBEARHT REX. Sun, eight rays pattés, issuing from circle enclosing pellet.

*Rev.*—✠ VERHEARD. Cross pattée.

*B. M. Cat.*, vol. ii., p. 3.

79-81. *Obv.*—✠ ELCBEORHT REX. Cross potent.

*Rev.*—✠ BEACVND TONET. Cross potent. (3 varieties, 1 broken.)

*B. M. Cat.*, vol. ii., Pl. I. 9.

82. Similar; but reverse legend ending TONETA.

83. Similar; but reverse legend ending TONE.

84. *Obv.*—✠ ECLBETRHT REX. Cross pattée.

*Rev.*—✠ OBA TONETA. Six rays or limbs pattés issuing from a common centre.

*B. M. Cat.*, vol. ii., p. 4; *Rud.*, Pl. XXVII. 2.

85. *Obv.*—✠ HEBBEARHT REX. Within circle, pellet.


*Rev.*—✠ TIDBEARHT. Cross pattée of peculiar form; the limbs are wedge-shaped and separated from the centre, which consists of a pellet.

*Unpublished.* Pl. IV. 7.

86. *Obv.*—✠ HEBBETRHT REX. Within circle, pellet.

*Rev.*—✠ TIDBEARHT. Tribach, consisting of three wedge-shaped limbs with pellet in centre.

*Unpublished.* Pl. IV. 8.

87. *Obv.*—✠ ELLGEORHT REX. Within circle, 

*Rev.*—✠ IFA MONETA. Cross pattée.

*B. M. Cat.*, vol. ii., Pl. I. 10.

88. *Obv.*—+ ELLGEORHT REX. Same as the preceding.

*Rev.*—+ TIDEMAN MOHE. Same as the preceding.

89. *Obv.*—✠ ELLBEORHT REX. Same as No. 87.

*Rev.*—✠ TILRED MONETÆ. Same as No. 87.

90. *Obv.*—✠ ELLBEORHT REX. Within circle, SAX  
OINO  
RVM

*Rev.*—✠ ETLIYALD MONEIA. Cross pattée.

*B. M. Cat., vol. ii., p. 5.*

ELLBEORHT AS KING OF MERCIA, A.D. 827-828.

91. *Obv.*—✠ ELLBERHT REX T̄. Within dotted circle,  
cross potent.

*Rev.*—✠ LVN  
D̄ONIA  
LIVIT

*Unpublished.* Pl. IV. 9.

92. *Obv.*—✠ ELLBERHT REX T̄. Within dotted circle,  
cross potent.

*Rev.*—✠ REDTVDP MOHET. Within dotted circle, A.

*Unpublished.* Pl. IV. 10.

The coins of this king formed more than a third of the whole hoard. Besides a large series with the Canterbury monogram on the reverse, which is of the same form as that on the coin of Archbishop Wulfred (No. 9, p. 45) and five types already in the National Collection, there are six new types, two of which are of considerable historical importance, and four others which were before not represented in the National Collection, and which have been considered till now as unique.

Of the 69 coins with the Canterbury monogram, no less than 22 were struck by the moneyer Biornmod and 13 by Diormod. It is interesting to notice that in this large number of coins of one type only there were no actual duplicates, *i.e.* no two coins struck from the same dies.

The differences are in many cases very slight, yet they are sufficient to show that new dies were used in every instance. The style of these coins is remarkably uniform, the bust of the king being usually represented by perpendicular lines only. An exception is, however, found on the coins which bear the moneyer's name, Bosel. On these the bust is represented by horizontal wavy lines only, and the usual inner circle entirely surrounds the bust. The work of these coins is very sharp, and shows the hand of an adept engraver.

The new types are (a) No. 71, with the name of St. Andrew, the last six letters of the word *Apostolus* forming the central type of the reverse. The coins with the name of St. Andrew on the reverse are usually attributed to Rochester, the church there, which was built by Ethelbert, King of Kent, at the persuasion of St. Augustine, *circ.* A.D. 604, being dedicated to that saint. Next to Canterbury, Rochester was the most important place in Kent. The church received many extensive grants from various successive kings, more especially from Offa and Coenwulf of Mercia, and Ecgbearht of Wessex. The last, in A.D. 828, ordered that all the lands attached to the church of St. Andrew should be free from all royal and secular service, known and unknown, from the pasturage of kings and knights, from the hunting of horses, falcons, hawks, and dogs,<sup>15</sup> &c. ; and again, in 838, Ecgbearht gave to the church the manor of Snodelinde.<sup>16</sup> It has already been suggested that certain coins of Coenwulf, Ceolwulf I, and Beornwulf may have been struck at this city, and it is not improbable that, with other privileges, that of the right of

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<sup>15</sup> Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* ccxxiii.

<sup>16</sup> Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 1769, p. 8.

coinage was at an early date confirmed by Ecgbearht, and that these coins, with the name of St. Andrew, were issued early in his reign. (*b*) No. 73 is a new conjunction of the obverse and reverse types. The cross pattée occurs as a reverse type several times during this reign, but never before with the bust of the king on the obverse. (*c*) No. 85 is entirely new. The only other instance of the type of a pellet within a circle is on the coins of Aethelstan I of East Anglia, which have been described above. The peculiar shape of the cross pattée on the reverse is also exceptional. It is formed of four wedge-shaped limbs, with a pellet in the centre; but the limbs and the pellet are separate, *i.e.* do not touch each other. (*d*) No. 86 is similar to No. 85, but instead of a cross pattée on the reverse we have a tribrach of the same form. Both these coins were struck by the moneyer Tidbearht. (*e* and *f*) We now come to what may well be considered the two most interesting coins in the find (Nos. 91, 92), viz., those issued by Ecgbearht, with the title of King of the Mercians. One of these (No. 91) has on the reverse the mint name of London. Here again, when I first examined these coins, I thought I had discovered a new king; but after a careful perusal of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Kemble, Florence of Worcester, &c., and failing to find any mention of a Mercian king of that name, I had to abandon this view and to attribute the coins to Ecgbearht, King of Wessex. This identification was none the less satisfactory, as the coins confirm an important event in the history of that king. In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, s.a. 827, it is recorded, "This year the moon was eclipsed on the mass-night of midwinter, and the same year King Ecgbryht conquered the kingdom of the Mercians and all that was south of the Humber, and he was the eighth king who was Bret-walda." Again, s.a.

828, "This year Wiglaf again obtained the kingdom of the Mercians." The victory of Ecgbearht over Beornwulf at Ellandune, in 825, had established the supremacy of Wessex over all the other states of the Heptarchy, but the deposition of Wiglaf two years later placed, at least for a time, the whole control of Mercia in the hands of Ecgbearht, "*Regnum Merciorum suo subiecit imperio.*"<sup>17</sup> It is to this period of twelve months or less that I would assign these two coins, and if this attribution needs any confirmation it is to be found in the second one, which bears the name of Wiglaf's own moneyer, Redmund, whom we have seen already striking coins for that king (see p. 40). This appears to be the only instance of Ecgbearht being styled King of the Mercians. The occurrence of the name of the London mint, in connection with that of Ecgbearht, on one of the coins, is also of considerable interest. When Ecgbearht drove out Swithraed, King of the East Saxons, and Essex became a part of the Kingdom of Wessex, London, with the surrounding regions, was still subject to the Kings of Mercia, and remained so as long as they ruled.<sup>18</sup> The defeat and expulsion of Wiglaf, which subjected for a time the kingdom of Mercia to the rule of Ecgbearht, however, placed London in the hands of that king, and it was on this occasion that both these coins were issued by the moneyer who had formerly been in the service of Wiglaf. The earliest hitherto known coin of the Anglo-Saxon series, which bears the mint name of London, was the remarkable one which has been attributed to Halfden,<sup>19</sup> the Viking leader who captured London in A.D. 874. This

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<sup>17</sup> *Fl. Wig.* s. a. 827.

<sup>18</sup> *Will. Malm.* i., ff. 98.

<sup>19</sup> *B. M. Cat.*, vol. ii., p. xxxiv.



coin was the prototype of the London coins of Aelfred. The coin of Ecgbeorht was struck nearly half a century earlier. It shows that though we have no Mercian coins which can be definitely attributed to London, a mint was established there at an early period by the Mercian kings.


The four types of this reign represented in this find which hitherto have been considered unique, and which were not represented in the National Collection, are (a) No. 77, with the cross pattée on both sides. Of this type, a specimen was in the Delgany hoard, and is now in the possession of Sir John Evans. (b) No. 78, with a sun of eight rays pattés on the obverse, and cross pattée on the reverse. When a cut was made of the only then known coin of this type for illustration in the *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, it belonged to Mr. E. J. Piffard; but it has since passed into the collection of Mr. Montagu. (c) No. 84, with the cross pattée on the obverse and an ornament of six rays pattés, issuing from a common centre on the reverse, is figured in *Rud.*, Pl. XXVII. 2, and *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, vol. ii. p. 4. Where the figured specimen at present is I do not know. (d) No. 90, with "Saxoniorum" on the obverse, and cross pattée on the reverse, was formerly in the Murchison Collection.

No. 72 enables me to correct a misreading in the *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, vol. ii. p. 7, No. 13. The specimen in the National Collection is only a portion of a coin, and I therefore read the name as "Andre," and supposed the moneyer to be "Andred." From the specimen in the hoard it will be seen that the letters are a part of the name of St. Andrew.

The find adds the following new names to the list of Ecgbeorht's moneyers, Dealla, Deibus, Dudinc, Dunn, Eanwald, Redmund, and Tilred. It also increases the

number of the coins of that king in the British Museum numerically from 21 specimens, two of which are only fragments, to 112 specimens.

ÆTHELWULF, A.D. 838-858.

1. *Obv.*—✠ EÐELVVLF REX. Cross pattée over another cross pattée.  
*Rev.*—✠ HANNA HONETA. Within circle, SAX ONIO RVM, in three lines.  
*B. M. Cat.*, vol. ii., Pl. II. 6.
2. *Obv.*—✠ EÐELVVLF REX. Same as the preceding.  
*Rev.*—✠ OSMVN[D] HONETA. Same as the preceding. (Fragment.)
- 3-5. *Obv.*—✠ AÐELVVLF [R]EX. Cross pattée over another cross pattée.  
*Rev.*—[✠ O]LLIDENTALIVM. Within circle, SAX ONIO RVM, in three lines. (3 fragments, varied.)  
*B. M. Cat.*, vol. ii., Pl. II. 7.
6. Similar; but legend on reverse reading OLLIDENTALIVM.
7. *Obv.*—EÐELVVLF REX. Bust to right, diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ BEALTVND TONE. Within circle,  (A and W).  
*Unpublished.* Pl. IV. 11.
8. *Obv.*—EÐELVVLF REX. Bust to right, diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ BEALTVND TON. Cross pattée, pellet in each angle.  
*B. M. Cat.*, vol. ii., Pl. II. 11.
9. *Obv.*—EÐELVVLF RL. Same as the preceding.  
*Rev.*—✠ BEALTVND TO. Same as the preceding.
10. *Obv.*—EÐE[LVVL]F REX. Head to right, diademed.  
*Rev.*—✠ BEAL[LT]VND TO. Cross pattée, pellet in each angle. (Fragment.)

11-17. *Obv.*—EDELVVLF REX. Bust to right, diademed.

*Rev.*—✠ DVN TONETΛ. Cross pattée. (7 varieties, one a fragment.)

*B. M. Cat.*, vol. ii., Pl. II. 12.

18-23. *Obv.*—EDELVVLF REX. Head to right, diademed.

*Rev.*—✠ BEΛΓTVND. Cross pattée. (6 coins; 5 varieties.)

*B. M. Cat.*, vol. ii., Pl. II. 12.

24-25. *Obv.*—EDEDVVLF RE. Bust to right, diademed.

*Rev.*—✠ BEΛΓTVND T. Straight line, the ends molines. (2 varieties, one a fragment.)

*Unpublished.* Pl. IV. 12.

26-27. *Obv.*—EDELVVLF RE. Bust to right, diademed.

*Rev.*—✠ BEΛΓTVND TO. Straight line, the ends molines, between two crescents, horns outwards. (2 varieties.)

*Unpublished.* Pl. IV. 13.

28. *Obv.*—EDELVVLF RE. Bust to right, diademed.

*Rev.*—✠ BEΛΓTVND. Straight line, the ends pattés between two crescents, horns outwards; opposite each end of straight line, pellet.

*Unpublished.* Pl. IV. 14.

This is the latest king of whom there were coins in the hoard, and from their types we may conclude that they belong to the earlier part of his reign. Amongst them are several pieces which are new to us.

It is somewhat unaccountable that the “Saxoniorum” and “Saxoniorum Occidentalium” pieces, which in the *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, vol. ii., are ascribed to the first issue of this reign, are amongst the worst preserved in the whole find, these being a good deal chipped and much corroded. Whether this is due to their being of somewhat baser

metal than the other coins, or to their having been in a more exposed place in the vessel in which they were buried, I cannot say.

With the exception of these coins, all have for obverse type the bust of the king. The new types are (*a*) No. 7, with A and **W** in monogram, which was copied from coins of Ecgbeorht. (*b*) Nos. 24 and 25, with a straight line, the ends molines, is a unique type in its way; it was probably derived from that with the cross, two limbs pattés, two molines, which we find on coins of Ecgbeorht (see above, No. 72, p. 60). (*c*) Nos. 26 and 27, are a development of Nos. 24 and 25, having in addition a crescent on either side of the straight line moline. And (*d*) No. 28, which may again be a development of Nos. 26 and 27, the straight line moline being changed for a straight line pattée, at each end of which is a pellet, now also occurs for the first time.

CHARLEMAGNE, A.D. 800-814.

1. *Obv.*—CARLV<sup>S</sup> RE<sup>+</sup> FR (retrograde). Within circle, the Karlovingian monogram.

*Rev.*—<sup>+</sup> MOGONTIK. Within circle, cross on three steps.

Cf. *Gariel, Pl. XIII.* 207.

This coin was struck at Mayence, and differs somewhat in type from any published by Gariel, *Monnaies royales de France*. The occurrence of one specimen only of the Karlovingian coinage in the hoard shows that at the time of its burial but few of these coins were in circulation in this country. Later on, as we know from the Cuerdale hoard, they passed current in very large numbers. It is a curious coincidence that in the Delgany hoard there was also only one foreign coin, and that a denier of Pope Leo III.

From the particulars which have been given, it is evident that this hoard is without doubt the most important one which has ever occurred of Anglo-Saxon coins of the end of the eighth and first half of the ninth centuries. The Cuerdale and Chancton finds were larger and very important ones, but they were both of later date, the former embracing the period of Aelfred and his immediate predecessor and successor; the latter that of Edward the Confessor and Harold II only. The Gravesend find of 1838 comprised coins chiefly of Burgred; there was in it, however, a fair sprinkling of the coins of Ceolwulf I of Mercia, of Æthelstan I of East Anglia, and of Æthelwulf and Aelfred of Wessex. The Croydon find of 1862 was of a similar character to the Gravesend one; but that which nearest of all approaches the one under consideration is the Delgany hoard of 1874, which covers nearly the same period, viz., from Offa to Ecgbearht, but which, though it contained a good number of coins of Cuthred and Baldred of Kent, and Coenwulf, Ceolwulf I, and Beornwulf of Mercia, yet lacked many of the interesting pieces in this hoard.

The series which are the more fully represented in this find are those of Coenwulf and Ceolwulf I, of Mercia, Baldred of Kent, Wulfred and Ceolnoð of Canterbury; Æthelstan I, of East Anglia; and, above all, Ecgbearht and Æthelwulf, of Wessex. The main strength of the hoard lies in the middle, or about the middle, of the first half of the half century from 800—850. It includes, as we have seen, the series of all the coin-issuing districts south of the Humber. The total absence of sceattas in the hoard shows that this class of coin must have passed entirely out of circulation in the central and southern districts before its burial.

As to the general features of the hoard, there is not much that can be said, without repeating what has already been written.<sup>20</sup> Sir John Evans, in his account of the Delgany hoard,<sup>21</sup> pointed out the Kentish character of the coins of Offa and Coenwulf of Mercia. This view is more than confirmed by the find under consideration, in which there is clear proof that this influence lasted till the reign of Beornwulf, for we have coins struck during that reign and the preceding one bearing the name of the Canterbury mint, and some also which may with good reason be attributed to Rochester, the other episcopal mint in Kent.

After the battle of Ellandune, in A.D. 825, Wessex came to the front and assumed the foremost position in the Heptarchy, which till then had been held by Mercia. This defeat of the Mercians was followed by the expulsion of Baldred from Kent, and again, two years later, by the temporary deposition of Wiglaf of Mercia. Thus Ecgbeorht got back the lordship over the smaller kingdoms which had been lately held by Mercia. The influence of Wessex becomes still more apparent when we examine into the character of the coinage of Mercia from the time of Wiglaf onwards. Owing to the small number of coins which we possess of that king, and from their limited number of types, it is pretty evident that, after Wiglaf's restoration by Ecgbeorht in A.D. 828, his regal powers were of a very restricted nature, and that during the remaining years of his reign, from A.D. 828—838, he only held Mercia as a tributary to Ecgbeorht, and that no coins were struck by him. When Ecgbeorht, after the

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<sup>20</sup> See more especially the Introductions to vols. i. and ii. of the *B. M. Cat.*

<sup>21</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1882, p. 61.

expulsion of Baldred, annexed Kent to his dominions, he took over the control of the Kentish mints,<sup>22</sup> and from the time of Wiglaf's defeat in A.D. 827, supplied not only the coinage for his own kingdom, but also that for Mercia.<sup>23</sup> With the death of Ecgbeorht and the accession of his son Æthelwulf, the whole aspect of affairs changed. Of a gentle nature, and more disposed to spend a quiet life than to rule over wide dominions, and also having to turn his attention to securing the safety of his own kingdom against the attacks of the Vikings, Æthelwulf relaxed his rule over Mercia. One of the results of which was, that we find in a short time Wiglaf's successor, Berhtwulf, re-assuming the monetary rights of his predecessors. Burghred, his successor, exercised them still more fully, and the coinage of Mercia continues without interruption till the final extinction of that kingdom by the Danes, in A.D. 874. Of this period of nearly half a century there is a large Mercian coinage: but one which bears no traces whatever of being of a Kentish character, such as it was before the reign of Wiglaf. The power gained by Ecgbeorht over Kent was, however, never surrendered by him or by his successors, and was only disturbed from time to time by the occasional inroads of the Danes.

One other feature of this hoard is, that like that of Delgany, it confirms the conclusions arrived at by Lindsay and Kenyon as to the classification of the coins of Ceolwulf I and II of Mercia.

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<sup>22</sup> It is very probable that no coins were struck by Ecgbeorht before that time. See *B. M. Cat.*, vol. ii., pp. xii, xvii, *seqq.*

<sup>23</sup> This policy of Ecgbeorht's of reserving the rights of coinage to himself only is even more marked in the case of his son Æthelwulf, who, though he was made King of Kent in A.D. 828, struck no coins in his name till after his father's death.

Though there was such a large series of the coins of Æthelstan I of East Anglia in the hoard, yet but very little fresh light is thrown by them on the history of this almost unknown and unrecorded king. The presence of such a large number of coins of different types, the issue of which must have extended over a considerable period, proves that he could not have been a son of Æthelwulf, as Mr. Haigh conjectures, but it does not actually disprove that he was connected by blood with Ecgbearht, though there are many points which controvert this view. As Æthelwulf, who ruled over Kent from about A.D. 828, is mentioned in a charter of that date as "Filii nostri Æthelwulfi, quem regem constituimus in Cantia,"<sup>24</sup> and again, in similar terms on several subsequent occasions, it seems impossible that, if Æthelstan was likewise related to Ecgbearht, and held East Anglia as a dependant of Wessex, he could have escaped all notice whatever in the Chronicles. Besides that, would Æthelstan, if he had been in the position of an under-king, have been allowed by Ecgbearht to issue a coinage of his own, since, as we have seen above, that Æthelwulf, as king of Kent, struck no coins during his father's lifetime. It is not impossible that if Æthelstan did not come to the East Anglian throne till A.D. 828 (the date usually given to the first year of his reign), Ecgbearht may have assisted him in the succession, but yet there is nothing known which shows that Ecgbearht was in any way over-lord of East Anglia, or that that kingdom was tributary to Wessex. All that we learn of the history of East Anglia of about that period is, that after the death of Æthelberht, whom Offa treacherously slew, few of those who ruled after him

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<sup>24</sup> Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* ccxxiii.



possessed any power even including St. Eadmund, through the violence and tyranny of the Mercians, and that after the defeat of Beornwulf in 825, the East Anglians sent ambassadors *with their king* to Ecgbeorht, who besought him that he would protect them against the incursions of the Mercians. With this appeal Ecgbeorht complied, and promised that he would willingly assist them in every way. The crushing defeat of the Mercians, three years later, must have freed East Anglia from these incursions. Of this king who accompanied the East Anglian ambassadors there appears to be no further record; but it seems not improbable that he was none other than Æthelstan himself. In that case he would already have been king in A.D. 825. The style and fabric of Æthelstan's earliest coins strongly confirm this view. The conclusions then are that his large coinage and the entire omission of his name from all the ancient chronicles show that Æthelstan ruled independently of Wessex, and that in all probability he was in no way connected by blood with the house of Cerdic.

The hoard does not supply much fresh information respecting the moneyers. In the series of Mercia, Kent, Canterbury, and East Anglia, one new name only has been added in each instance. That of Wessex has been increased by seven new moneyers, but all belong to the reign of Ecgbeorht, none to that of Æthelwulf.

A critical examination of the moneyers of Mercia and Kent during the early part of the ninth century throws considerable light on the coinages of those States. By comparing the lists of moneyers it will be seen that nearly all those who worked under the Kentish kings were also in the employment of the kings of Mercia, whilst amongst the Mercian moneyers will be found many

names which do not occur in the Kentish coinage. From these it may be concluded that during the supremacy of Mercia all the Kentish mints were primarily under the control of that State. With this view I have noted in the preceding pages any very marked instances of moneyers who seem to have held a double employment. In the case of the archiepiscopal mint this rule does not appear to hold good, and the moneyers employed by the Archbishops seem almost exclusively to have worked for them only. This was clearly shown in discussing the so-called "Sede Vacante" coins. When Ecgbeorht took possession of the Kentish mints he appears to have enlisted into his service no less than eleven moneyers who had previously found employment either under the kings of Mercia or those of Kent. The coinage of East Anglia is as distinct in this respect as that of the Archbishops, and none of the moneyers who struck coins under Æthelstan can be found amongst those who worked for Wessex. By the time that Æthelstan came to the throne the mints of the Mercian and Kentish kings in Kent had come to an end.

After a careful examination of this find, no difficulty arises either in fixing the approximate date of its burial or in determining the period over which it extends. The coin of earliest date is the penny of Offa, the issue of which I would place quite at the end of his reign, the death of that king occurring in A.D. 794. The latest coins are those of Ceolnoð, who held the See of Canterbury from A.D. 833—870, and those of Æthelwulf of Wessex, who reigned from A.D. 838 or 9—858. Of Ceolnoð's coinage there is but one type, or at most varieties of one type, and of Æthelwulf there are only coins which belong to the earlier issues of his reign. There are also no coins of Berhtwulf of Mercia,

A.D. 839—853, or of Æthelweard of East Anglia, *circ.*  
A.D. 837—850. It is, therefore, evident that the burial  
of the hoard must be fixed as nearly as possible about  
A.D. 841 or 842, not later.

I have only to add that after making a most minute  
examination of every coin in the hoard, and comparing  
them with those already in the British Museum, I have  
found only three actual duplicates, *i.e.* coins struck from  
the same dies. This constant use of new dies is most  
noticeable in the series of Ecgbeorht, with the mono-  
gram of Canterbury on the reverse.

H. A. GRUEBER.

## NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

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*Das altbabylonische Maas- und Gewichts-system als Grundlage der antiken Gewichts-Münz- und Maassysteme.* Von C. F. Lehmann. Leyden, 1898.

This is one of the most interesting monographs on the study of the derivation of the weight-standards of the ancient world which has come under my notice since the publication of Brandis's standard work in 1866.

It forms the writer's contribution to the Transactions of the eighth International Congress of Orientalists held at Stockholm and Christiania in 1889. Into less than 100 pages Dr. Lehmann has compressed such a vast amount of material, much of which is quite new, and so many forcible arguments in support of his thesis, that its perusal is not a task to be lightly undertaken.

The old and orthodox doctrine that all ancient systems of weights and measures, including the Egyptian, may be traced to a Babylonian origin, is here for the first time, as I am inclined to think, substantially proved.

Hitherto this theory may be said to have been more or less a matter of conjecture, founded largely upon tradition, and without a firm basis in well-established fact. It is just this basis of fact that is now supplied, and no student of metrology can in future afford to neglect it.

Briefly stated, the new material evidence consists in the discovery and identification of three very ancient Babylonian standard weights, dating from the latter half of the third millennium before the Christian era. These weights, of hard polished greenstone, which have lost nothing from friction or corrosion of their surfaces, and which are inscribed in the old Babylonian character with their respective exact denominations, yield a heavy mina of 982.4 grammes and a corresponding light mina of 491.2 grammes. The close approximation of these actual weights to Brandis's conjectural estimates of the weights of the old Babylonian minæ affords a signal confirmation of

Brandis's extraordinary insight as a metrologist (see his work, p. 158, *sq.*). For many centuries before the invention of coining money bimetallism was firmly established throughout the civilised East, on the basis of the relation of gold to silver in the proportion of 40 : 3 or  $13\frac{1}{3}$  : 1. A less permanent relation was that which usually prevailed between silver and copper, viz., 120 : 1.

The original sexagesimal division of the talent and mina which long survived for weighing merchandise, was at a very early period supplanted, in the case of all the more precious metals, such as gold, silver and copper, by a partially decimal system, according to which the talent consisted of 3,000 instead of 3,600 units, and the mina of 50 instead of 60; the sixtieth part of the original weight-mina (16·37 grammes = 253 grains) being retained as the shekel of the gold-mina.

Thus from the above-mentioned weight-mina (for merchandise) separate gold and silver minæ were developed, the old Babylonian gold mina consisting of  $\frac{4}{5}$  of the weight-mina; thus:—

1 Old Babylonian weight-mina = 982·4 gr. (heavy), 491·2 (light).

$\frac{4}{5}$  Old Babylonian gold mina = 818·6 gr. (heavy), 409·3 (light).

$\frac{4}{5}$  Old Babylonian silver mina = 1091·5 gr. (heavy), 545·8 (light).

$\frac{1}{5}$  Phœnician silver mina = 727·6 (heavy), 363·8 (light).

Dr. Lehmann insists upon the fact that all the most important ancient weights, when they are not identical with, are fractions or multiples of an original Babylonian norm. Thus the Euboic mina, 436·66 grammes, is  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the light silver mina, 545·8 grammes, while the Roman pound, 327·45 gr., is  $\frac{2}{3}$ , and the Egyptian pound (uten) is  $\frac{1}{3}$ , and the "Kat"  $\frac{1}{6}$  of the same weight.

The numismatist will be chiefly interested in tracing the direct derivation of the weights of all the earliest Asiatic and Greek gold and silver coins to this newly discovered old Babylonian "common norm." Thus from the heavy gold mina, 818·6 grammes, we get, by dividing it into 50 parts, the *Phocaic stater* of 16·37 gr. (= 253 grains troy), and from the light gold mina (409·3 gr.) the *gold stater of Cræsus*, 8·18 gr. (= 126 grs.). From the light silver mina 545·8 gr. ÷ 50 we obtain the *Lydian silver stater* of 10·91 gr. (= 168 grs.), and from the mina of 727·6 gr. ÷ 50 we get the *Phœnician*, and at a later period the *Macedonian* and *Ptolemaic stater* of 14·55 gr. (= 224 gr.).

Side by side with the above-mentioned Babylonian "common norm," there was established at a very early period, perhaps as early as B.C. 2000, a higher standard, "the royal," formed by adding  $\frac{1}{4}$ , or sometimes  $\frac{1}{6}$ , to the "common norm." These higher weights (1137—1150.1 heavy, and 568—575 light), of which there are many extant inscribed examples, may have had their origin, Dr. Lehmann thinks, in a fluctuation in the relation of copper to silver between 120 and 125 : 1. So long as copper was exchangeable for silver at the old rate of 120 : 1, both metals could be weighed by one and the same standard, (i.e., the silver mina and talent), according to which one light silver mina of the common norm, 545.8 grammes, was the exact equivalent of 120 minæ of the same weight, or 60 minæ of double weight (= 1 heavy talent) of copper. But supposing copper to have sunk in value to 125 : 1 in place of 120 : 1, it would have become necessary, in order to maintain the old custom of exchanging a light mina of silver against a heavy talent of copper, either to lower the silver mina by  $\frac{1}{4}$  (a course which would have interfered with the exchange between silver and gold) or to create a new mina  $\frac{1}{4}$  heavier than the old one, to be used for weighing copper only. Thus a light mina of silver of the original common norm would now be exchangeable for a heavy talent of copper of the new augmented standard.

This theory would account for the fact that the weights designated as "royal" did not supplant the old weights, but were used side by side with them. It is probable that the appellation of "*Royal*" for this new and augmented standard may have arisen from the practice of the Babylonian and Assyrian, and, at a later period, of the Persian kings, of making it obligatory to pay all taxes and tributes in the precious metals according to the augmented standard, by which they profited to the extent of four or five per cent. This explanation of the name "royal" would also account for the fact that the royal Persian daric of 130 grs., and the corresponding silver siglos of 86.45 grs., as well as the silver staters of the Persian satraps of 172.9 grs., are all distinctly heavier than the corresponding coins of the kings of Lydia (*A* stater of Croesus 126 grs., silver stater 168 grs., &c.) and than many other ancient Thracio-Macedonian and Lycian coins, of which the weights were based upon the original Babylonian "common" as distinguished from the "royal" norm.

A similar change (though in an opposite direction) in the respective values of silver and copper, would also account for the fixing of the Euboic standard at  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the Babylonian "common" silver norm; for supposing that Chalcis, "the copper town," had been able for some long time to maintain

the price of her copper at  $\frac{1}{2}$  higher than the rate prevalent in the East, *i.e.*, at 96 : 1 instead of 120 : 1, she would consequently have been in a position to deduct  $\frac{1}{2}$  from the weight of the "common" Babylonian silver mina, *when used for weighing copper*, and would, therefore, have been able to purchase a whole light mina of silver for  $\frac{2}{3}$  of a heavy talent of copper instead of for a whole heavy talent. This new reduced standard when once firmly established under the name of the "Euboic" weight, would naturally survive such a temporary rise, as Dr. Lehmann premises, in the price of copper, and after the old-established international rate of 120 : 1 had again been restored, the Eubœans would continue to weigh both metals by the new reduced standard, according to which  $\frac{2}{3}$  of a heavy Babylonian talent of copper would henceforth, at 120 : 1, be equivalent to exactly  $\frac{2}{3}$  of a light Babylonian mina of silver instead of to a whole mina.

This hypothesis may serve, at any rate, to explain the fact, otherwise not easily accounted for, that the Euboic standard was just  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the Babylonian, and on independent grounds it seems not improbable that the ratio of 96 : 1 had at one time been the rule in Eubœa ; for when Solon adopted the Euboic standard, the copper stater, χαλκοῦς (not at that period a piece of coined money), was tariffed at  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the silver stater of the same weight. (8 chalkoi = 1 obol and 12 obols = 1 stater.)

The origin of the Roman pound, 327·45 grammes, which was only  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the old Babylonian "common" silver mina, may be accounted for in precisely the same manner ; but in this instance Dr. Lehmann stands on still firmer ground, for he adduces positive evidence from the Balance discovered at Chiusi (now in the Berlin Museum), that, when the Roman pound weight was first raised from  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the light Babylonian mina. *i.e.*, from 272·9 to 327·45 grammes, the price of copper in Italy had risen as high as 72 : 1. The writer surmises that the sextantal reduction, at a much later period, may have been necessitated by the subsequent depreciation of copper to the old rate of 120 : 1. The Romano-Attic mina of Imperial times, *circ.* 341 grammes, stands precisely in the same relation to the "royal" Babylonian norm as the older Roman pound of 327·45 grammes does to the "common" norm, *viz.*, in the proportion of  $\frac{2}{3}$ .

The Æginetic mina and the Attic trade mina, which were exactly equivalent to 2 Roman pounds, 655 grammes, also betray their origin in the same relation of copper to silver, 72 : 1, which, as we have seen, prevailed in old times in Italy.

It is thus manifest that Dr. Lehmann has been able to show that all the principal weight standards of the ancient world,

without exception, were directly derived from Babylon, and that their weights, wherever they differ from the Babylonian norm, were in some cases certainly, and in other cases probably, due originally to temporary variations in the relation of copper to silver.

Whether we accept all the writer's deductions or not, it can hardly be denied that the discovery of the three above-mentioned ancient Babylonian weights, marked distinctly with their exact values, is an event of the highest metrological importance, as it introduces into the inquiry an element of harmony which goes a long way towards strengthening the theory of the Babylonian origin of all weights and measures.

In this too brief notice I have limited myself to those questions which directly concern the science of numismatics. There remains, however, another branch of the subject which concerns the origin and derivation of the measures of length and capacity which will claim the attention of all professed metrologists.

BARCLAY V. HEAD.

The *Revue Numismatique*, Part III., 1893, contains the following articles:—

1. VAUVILLÉ (O.). Gaulish coins found in the Department of Aisne.

2. BABELON (E.). Recent acquisitions of the *Cabinet des Médailles* (Paris). Lycia, Phrygia, Pisidia. These coins are chiefly Imperial, and, though doubtless very rare, are of no special interest.

3. CASSANOVA (P.). Coins of the Assassins of Persia.

4. MAXE-WERLY (L.). Merovingian coins with the inscription **BAINISSION**. The author attributes these trientes to Binson, the ancient capital of the *pagus Bagensonensis*.

5. VIENNE (M. de). Historical *résumé* of the Spanish currency.

6. ROUYER (J.). On French Protestant Communion Tickets struck before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

7. SERRURE (R.). The Interdict of Charles IV, King of the Romans, against the issue of gold coin by Pierre IV, d'André, Bishop of Cambrai.

8. BLANCHET (J. A.). Double Tournais of Henry IV, struck at Saint-Palais.

The *Revue Numismatique*, Part IV., 1893, contains the following articles:—

1. BLANCHET (J. A.). Unpublished or little-known Greek coins, from the collection of Prince Peter of Saxe-Coburg. Of



the rare coins here described the most noteworthy is a tetradrachm of the island of Andros. *Obv.* Head of Apollo laur. r. *Rev.* Dionysos standing l., clad in long chiton, holding kantharos and thyrsos; inser. A—N. Wt. 217 grs.

2. PROU (M.). A collection of drawings of Merovingian coins presented to the *Bibliothèque nationale* by M. A. de Barthélemy. This valuable collection of more than three thousand drawings and impressions, laboriously got together by M. de Barthélemy during forty years' study of the Merovingian series, forms an important supplement to the already unrivalled collection of original specimens in the French cabinet, as it records the existence of numerous specimens which came under de Barthélemy's notice, and which are now dispersed throughout Europe in different public and private collections. The Plate which accompanies M. Prou's article exhibits many new varieties of *Tiers de sous d'or*.

3. DELOCHE (M.). On the meaning of the words *Pax* and *Honor*, and of the "barred" S on coins and jetons of the sovereigns of Bearn. The writer gives convincing reasons for interpreting the word *Pax* as here meaning Social Peace and Order, and the word *Honor*, which on the coins is usually followed by the word *Forcas* or *Forquie*, as the Right of Capital Punishment, or of the Fork or Gibbet, the Guarantee of Law and Order. The barred S on the jetons of Bearn is a contraction of the word *Sigillum* or *Signum*.

4. MARCHÉVILLE (M. de). On the denier of Sainte-Marie with the name of King Robert. This paper deals with a series of coins of doubtful attribution, discovered some years ago in Franche-Comté. They date for the most part from the beginning of the eleventh century.

5. CASANOVA (P.). On an unpublished gold coin of a chief of the Zendj, who, as a Mahdi, led a revolt of the black slaves of Basrah in the reign of Mo'tadid, in the year 255 of the Hegira.

6. LA TOUR (H.). Matteo dal Nassaro. The writer of this interesting memoir recapitulates all that is known of the life and works of Matteo, an able, though by no means a great, artist. He was a native of Verona, and from the year 1515 attached to the court of Francis I of France in the capacity of court painter, designer, engraver, and musician. It does not appear, however, that he ever held the office of engraver at the mint. The author places before our eyes on Pl. XIII a series of portrait medals of Francis I, which are clearly the work of an Italian engraver, who can hardly have been any one else than Matteo dal Nassaro.

The *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Band xix., Heft 3, contains the following articles :—

1. SELTMANN (E. J.). On some rare coins of Himera. This paper is in the main devoted to the determination, by their style, of the chronological sequence of the early coins of Himera. The author, in discussing the meaning of the puzzling word **IATON**, has independently arrived at the same conclusion, with regard to its signification, as that which was suggested by Herr K. F. Kinch in Part II. of the *Zeitschrift*, viz., that it stands for *ιατῶν* (sc. ἀνάθημα), i.e., a coin dedicated, by those who had been healed of their diseases, to Asklepios. These coins, the writer thinks, may well have been used as thank-offerings, and cast into the marble basin of the thermæ attached to the shrine of Asklepios, whence they doubtless found their way into the temple treasure of the god. The epithet **ΣΟΤΗΡ**, which occupies the field of the coin behind the Nymph sacrificing at an altar, he would also apply to the god Asklepios, rather than, with Kinch, to the Nymph herself.

2. GANTER (F. L.). The Dictatorships of Cæsar and the coins of the first five Quatuorviri A. A. A. F. F. These are L. Flaminius Chilo, M. Mettius, L. Aemilius Buca, P. Sepullius Macer, and C. Cossutius Maridianus.

3. LAMBROPOULOS (A.). Contributions to Greek numismatics. This is a highly suggestive and extremely interesting disquisition on the possessive adjective, which on some early Greek coins takes the place of the usual genitive plural of the ethnic; e.g., Ὀλυμπικόν, Ἀρκαδικόν, Φενικόν, Φοικικόν, Δαλφικόν, Θεσπικόν, Φαιστικόν, Βισαλτικόν, Τερμερικόν, Ναγιδικόν, Σολικόν, Τερσικόν. It has hitherto been almost universally taken for granted that a neuter substantive in the nominative case, such as δίδραχμον, τετράδραχμον, or νόμισμα, must in these cases be understood. The writer, however, observes that, as the genitive plural is almost the universal rule for Greek coin-legends, it is, *primâ facie*, probable that these possessive adjectives are also genitives, belonging, he thinks, to the period before the Ω had come into general use. He also points out that in several instances it can be shown that the coins which have the possessive adjective in place of the ethnic are not municipal issues. This is no doubt true in some instances, such as Ὀλυμπικόν, Ἀρκαδικόν, Φοικικόν, and perhaps in others. Dr. Lambropoulos, adopting a suggestion from *Hist. Num.*, p. 354, that the coins reading **ΟΛΥΜΠΙΚΟΝ** and **ΔΑΛΦΙΚΟΝ** were issued on the occasion of Olympic and Pythian festivals, would extend this theory and make it applicable to all coins bearing inscriptions of this kind, and, to complete the meaning of the legend, he would supply the words ἀγώνων or ἄθλων

wal did not bear the arms of King John his Father with a Label or Border, as the younger Sons of the Kings of England afterwards did, but took the arms of *Poictou*, being *Argent a Lion Rampant Gules, crowned Or*, within a *Border* of the ancient Earls of *Cornwal*, which were *Sable Bezanty*, by which he included the *Ensigns* of both his Earldoms in one *Escoccheon*, as you may observe in his Seal. . . . This Richard being afterwards elected King of the Romans, gave *Or an Eagle displayed Sable*, which is carved on the wall of the North-Isle in Westminster-Abbey," and adopted for legend on his seal, +RICARDUS x DEI x GRATIA x ROMANORVM REX SEMPER AVGVSTUS, just as he "wrote himself" in a letter addressed to Simon de Montfort and Gilbert de Clare. His two shields are likewise alluded to in his epitaph:—

"At length with Charles his Crown was Royaliz'd,  
By which the *Eagle* in his shield he wore,  
(Excelling other Kings in Wealth and State)  
And scorn'd the *Lion*, which he bare before."  
(Sandford's trans.)

Earl Richard must have "got much money by farming the Mint and the *Jews* of the King," and his wealth helped greatly towards determining his election in Germany: whence the saying, "Nummus ait pro me, nubit Cornubia Romæ." Considering Earl Richard's share in Henry III's recoinage of 1248, Mr. Marsh's suggestion does not appear to me altogether improbable. The three pellets filling up the angles on the reverse of this coinage may have been merely ornamental, but, on the other hand, as ornaments, may have been selected as peculiarly appropriate, recalling as they do the prominent golden balls or bezants of Cornwall in Richard's arms.

The further question is, whether these three balls, as continued on the sterlings of Edward I, could have been the source whence English pawnbrokers have derived the sign they still use, "three golden balls." It is indeed supposed that this sign originated with the money-lenders about that period, and whatever the origin of the three pellets on the coins may have been, I think that my suggestion (that these three pellets on the coins gave rise to the pawnbrokers' sign) seems at least as probable as previous suggestions; which were, (1) that the balls represent the three golden roundels of St. Nicholas (see *Notes and Queries*, 1st Ser., I. 5); (2) that they are gilded pills from the Medici arms (see *Notes and Queries*, 1st Ser., I. 42). If either of these two suggestions be correct, why is it that they are not used by pawnbroking establishments or money-lenders anywhere except in England? I cannot enter more fully into

the question at present, but it would indeed be a curious coincidence if thus indirectly the money-lenders of the present day have obtained their device from this "richest prince and money-lender of his time."

F. PARKES WEBER.

A MEDAL OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL (afterwards Major-General)  
SIR PATRICK ROSS AND THE CANAL OF SANTA MAURA, 1819.

*Obv.*—Plan of the lagoon of Santa Maura with the canal formed by the English. In the centre is a bare profile head of Sir Patrick Ross to right, with his name, "P. Ross," on the truncation.

*Rev.*—Inscription within wreath :—

Π. ΡΟΣΣ ΧΙΛΙΑΡΧΩΙ ΕΠΙΕΙΚΟΥΣ  
ΔΙΚΑΙΑΡΧΙΑΣ ΕΝΕΚΕΝ ΩΝ ΤΕ ΑΙΤΙΟΣ  
ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΑΓΑΘΩΝ ΓΕΓΟΝΕΝ ΤΗΣ  
ΤΕ ΑΡΤΙ ΤΟΥ ΙΣΘΜΟΥ ΑΝΟΡΥΞΕΩΣ  
ΕΥΓΝΩΜΟΣΥΝΗΣ ΔΕΙΓΜΑ ΟΙ  
ΛΕΥΚΑΔΙΟΙ ΕΤΗ ΣΩΤΗΡ: ΑΩΙΘ.

"To Commandant P. Ross, in recognition of his just administration and many services, and of the recent excavation of the Isthmus—a token of goodwill presented by the Leucadians, A.D. 1819."

Size 3·25; struck; Æ.

This medal, issued by the inhabitants of Santa Maura, the ancient Leucas, in honour of Sir Patrick Ross, commemorates the Canal of Santa Maura. Sir Patrick Ross, G.C.M.G., died in 1850. In 1819 he was British resident at Zante; in 1825 he was Governor of Antigua, and in 1846 Governor of St. Helena. The Canal of Santa Maura was constructed by the Anglo-Ionian Government, and was intended for boats drawing not more than four or five feet of water; it connected Fort Santa Maura and the town of Amaxichi. The mole, in connection with the canal, was made partly at the cost of the general Anglo-Ionian Government and partly at that of the inhabitants of Santa Maura. In 1819 the levying of their contribution caused some temporary disturbance among the Santa Mauriotes, the villages taking up arms and driving the tax-collectors away. This medal is probably of English workmanship, although of rather peculiar appearance; and this is the only specimen I have seen of it.

F. PARKES WEBER.

ORIENTAL COINS.—I obtained some time ago the following coins:

(i) ABBĀSĪ KHALĪF COIN. Ghurshistān, A.H. 137.

Obv. Amawī pattern and legend in area.

Margin بسم الله ضرب هذه الدرهم بغرشيستان سنة سبع وثلاثين ومئة

Annulets oo oo oo oo

Rev. Area and marginal legends and pattern as Amawī coins.

This is, I believe, a new mint name. Yākūt gives the name Ghurshistān غرشيستان, and De Sacy, in "Mines de l'Orient," Tom. I. p. 321, and Charmoy, "Expédition d'Alexandre contre les Russes," p. 138, have notices of the name and its proper attributions as to locality, but I find no instance of the spelling Ghurshistān which I read on this coin. The letters are very clear, and there is certainly one more stroke than is required for the ش and the س between the ر and the ت.

The Amawī pattern and legends being on a coin of so late a date as 137 is remarkable.

(ii) BENĪ RASŪL.

Three coins were sent me from Aden. One is of an Imām of Dhafār similar to those described by Mr. S. Lane-Poole in Num. Chron. 1887, p. 327; another is of Mudhaffar Yūsuf ibn 'Umar (B. M. Cat. Additions to Vol. 5, No. 358d) mint Zebīd, but year 651; and the third has an obverse exactly similar to the last-mentioned one but with the following reverse:

Area

الامام  
المستعصم بالله  
ابو احمد امير المؤمنين  
السلطان الملك  
المظفر

Margin شمس الدين يوسف بن الملك المنصور عمر ضرب صنعاً  
سنة احدى خمسين ستماية

which is a transposition of the parts of the legend usually seen on the area and margin respectively, the name of the Khalīf being in the area and that of the Sultan in the margin.

H. Nutzelt in Zeitschrift für Numismatik, Band xviii. p. 117, reads Ṣan'a doubtfully on a coin of Mansūr 'Umar.

I was lately shown a coin of Mudhaffar Yūsuf of the year 650, which has the mint name Ḥiṣn Ta'izz; I had not before seen the prefix حصن used for this place, but it seems a reasonably descriptive one.

O. CODRINGTON.

## IV.

### ON SOME BRONZE COINS FROM CRETE.

THE coins which are hereinafter described were all collected from villagers in the two westernmost provinces of Crete, Kíssamo and Sélino; the greater part at Palæókastro Kíssámon, the site of Polyrenion, and at Rhodhováni, in the province of Sélino, the site of Elyros; and the remainder in every case not far from the spots at which they were found. Very few are of silver, because such coins are already recognised as valuable by the peasantry, and are sold at the first opportunity to the dealers in Khanià; while bronze is as rare in the towns as silver is in the villages. In fact, though a few of these little coins are perhaps undescribed, the main interest of the collection is as evidence of the comparative importance of the towns of this district, and of their commercial relations with one another.

The collection from Palæókastro consists of 85 coins, distributed as follows:—

	AR	Æ
Roman Imperial . . . . .	—	5
Carthage (third century) . . . . .	—	1
	<hr/>	6
Greek but not Cretan:—		
Achæan league . . . . .	1 δρ.	—
Alexander . . . . .	—	1
Egypt (Ptolemaic) . . . . .	—	1
	<hr/>	
Carried over . . . . .	1	2

	<u>℞</u>	<u>Æ</u>	
Brought forward .			6
Do. .	1	2	
Histiæa . . . .	1 δρ.	—	
Kos . . . .	—	1	
Kyrene . . . .	—	1	
Ptolemais (Kyrenæ) .	—	1	
Rhodos . . . .	—	3	
Thebes . . . .	1 δρ.	—	
Uncertain . . . .	—	3	
		<hr/>	14
Cretan :—			
Province of Crete . .	—	2	
Aptera . . . .	—	6	
Etera . . . .	—	1	
Gortyna . . . .	—	6	
Kydonia . . . .	—	4	
Lappa . . . .	—	2	
Phalasarna . . . .	—	3	
Polyrenion . . . .	2 δρ.	28	
Rithymna . . . .	—	2	
		<hr/>	56
Uncertain . . . .			9
		<hr/>	
Total . . . .			<u>85</u>

Of the nine uncertain coins, one is wholly unrecognisable; the remainder are as follows:—

1. 12 mm. diameter. Female head to r. (compare small common Gortyna type).

*Rev.*—(?) tripod. Cf. Svoronos, Pl. III., 2 ff., assigned to Axos.

2. 10 mm. Goat's head and neck to r., long upright horns.

*Rev.*—Bee, with traces of letters below the wings; arrow in field to l. (?) Elyros; v. below.

3. 12 mm. Young male head to r.; hair in fillet.

*Rev.*—Bunch of grapes.

4. 14 mm. Bearded head to r.

*Rev.*—Bunch of grapes.

5. 13 mm. Bull standing to r.; head full face; a large fillet hangs from each horn, and a halter between them reaches to the ground.

*Rev.*—Large bunch of grapes in concave field.

This coin is not given by Svoronos, and the obverse type does not occur elsewhere in Crete. But the fillets recall the bull's head on the coins of Polyrenion; and as the grapes, which do not occur at Polyrenion, are characteristic of Kydonia, the coin may commemorate an alliance between the two places. The obverse is well designed and clearly executed; but the reverse is of inferior workmanship. Such a difference in style is of course very common on Cretan coins.

- 6, 7. 14 mm. Young head to r.; hair in roll.

*Rev.*—Wreath enclosing an obscure symbol, perhaps a monogram.

8. Head of Athena in Corinthian helmet to r.

*Rev.*—Trident; field slightly concave. Very fair work.

It is possible that this coin may be a parallel to the barbarous specimen figured by Svoronos, Pl. XXX. 3, and assigned by him to Rithymna. But the reverse type closely resembles that which is common on coins of Phalasarna, and there are traces of letters *outside* the prongs of the trident, as at the latter place. No such helmeted head, as that on the obverse, is known at Phalasarna. It is common, however, and of very similar style, at Polyrenion. It is therefore tempting to interpret this example as an alliance coin between these neighbouring states; especially as it was found on the site of the larger and more important of them, and as the coins of Phalasarna, the only port on the west coast of Crete, circulated



pretty freely in the west of the island. (Cp. the lists from Palæókastro and Rhodhováni. I saw also a fair number of the silver coins in dealers' collections in Khanià.)

There is, of course, no reason why coins of Rithymna should not be occasionally found at Polyrenion, and in fact two such are given in the list above, on the authority of Svoronos. They are both examples of that figured in his Pl. XXX. 2.

Æ. 17 mm. Young male head (Apollo) to l.; hair in fillet, and rolled behind.

*Rev.*—Cretan goat to left, raising right forefoot; **PI** over back; **Λ** between fore-legs, **Υ** between hind-legs.

Eckhel assigned this coin to Elyros, assuming the loss of **E** in front of the goat, and reading [**E**]**AYPI**; and specimens in Berlin and in Paris are given under this title. Another specimen in the Berlin collection is assigned to Syros, and Mionnet attributed it to Ephesos. Svoronos, who discusses the coin at length, refers it to Rithymna, on the strength of a specimen found in Crete, and now in the National Collection at Athens. He reads **PI** for the town name, and takes **ΛΥ** as a magistrate's mark. He does not, however, give the exact find-spot, and considering the insignificance of Rithymna in classical times, and the extreme poverty of its coin series, it is not likely that its bronze coins would have wandered so far as Polyrenion; nearly three days' journey by land, and by sea involving the very awkward doubling of Cavo Spada (Psakon). In spite, therefore, of the absence of the **E**, which is confirmed on the specimens from Polyrenion, there seems to be still some reason to assign the coin to Elyros; the orthography of which will be again

matter for comment further on. Elyros, though separated from Polyrenion by lofty hills, is barely a day and a half's journey from it, and the numerous coins of Polyrenion found on its site prove the existence of regular communication between the towns. The coins of Gortyna probably followed the same route; by sea to Seria, the port of Elyros, and then across country to Polyrenion. There are traces, however, of a road which would be easier from Sélino Kastélli (? hissos), up the valley of Vliithias, where the defile is guarded by a watch-tower of fine polygonal work.

With one exception the thirty coins of Polyrenion itself call for no comment. The two drachmæ are of the same type.

Female head [Britomartis] full face, wearing collar and pendant.

*Rev.*—Apollo nude, standing three-quarter r., right hand extended. ΠΟΛΥΡΗ—ΝΙΩΝ vertically upwards on either side of the figure. (Svoronos, XXVI. 22.)

Among the bronze coins nearly all the usual types are represented; the commonest by far having a round shield with bull's head in low relief, within a ring of prominent dots.

*Rev.*—Spear-head upwards, with varying legend  $\begin{matrix} \Pi & \text{O} \\ \Lambda & \Upsilon \end{matrix}$   
 ΠΟΛΥΡΗ or ΠΟΛΥΡΗΝ.

Only one specimen occurs of the reverse—tripod in wreath, surrounded by Π—Ο—Λ—Υ.

Two specimens, however, should be noticed, of the rarer type.

Æ. 16 mm. Bœotian shield in very high relief.

*Rev.*—Cretan goat's head in low relief to r., with long horns curved at the tips; behind, a lance-head upwards; all in ring of dots. (Svoronos, Pl. XXV., 34.)

Both specimens are of very coarse thick fabric; the metal is "underpoled," brittle, and spongy; and one of them is badly mis-struck. The type is attributed by Eckhel to Ismene, in Bœotia, and by Mionnet (*Suppl.* iv., 318, 155) to Elyros. Svoronos gives it to Polyrenion, but does not give detailed grounds for his view. He is supported, however, by an inscription lately discovered at Palæókastro, now in the possession of a doctor in Kíssamo Kastélli, and published by Doublet (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* xiii., 1889, p. 68); which records the terms of a treaty between Polyrenion and Thebes, at a period which suits the style of these coins very well. It is perhaps also noteworthy that the only coin from European Greece obtained on this site, except the ubiquitous silver of Histiaea and the Achæan League, is a drachma of Thebes.

Bœotian shield.

*Rev.*—Kantharos with ☉—H round the tall stem. Thunderbolt above.

The coins from Rhodhováni are 56 in number, and are distributed thus:—Roman, 11; Greek, but not Cretan, 3.

Cretan:—

	Æ	Æ
Aptera . . .	—	1
Elyros[HA] . . .	—	6
Gortyna . . .	—	9
Hyrakina . . .	—	3
Itanos . . .	1 δρ.	—
Kydonia . . .	1 δρ.	4
Carried over . . .	2	23

	Æ	Æ
Brought forward . . . . .	2 δρ.	28
Phalasarna . . . . .	—	2
Polyrenion . . . . .	—	10
Uncertain . . . . .	—	5
		—————56

The ruins, which lie ten minutes east of Rhodhováni, are identified as Elyros by two inscriptions derived thence, and built into houses in the modern village. I do not know that they have been hitherto published. It is consequently remarkable that no bronze coins occur here which bear the ethnic **ΕΛΥΡΙΟΝ** as it occurs on the silver coins of the place (*Brit. Mus. Cat., Crete*, viii. 15). It appears necessary, however, to assign to Elyros the small bronze coins figured in Svoronos (Pl. XII. 14, 17).

Æ. 11-13 mm. Forepart of Cretan goat recumbent r.; head regardant l.; in front, a broad arrow-head pointing horizontally to its neck. **H—Λ** in the field above.

*Rev.*—Bee seen from above; **H—Λ** (*a*) between wings and abdomen; (*b*) above wings.

One of the specimens with this reverse has the obverse quite defaced. Compare No. 2 of the list of "uncertain" coins from Palæókastro above, and the following from Rhodhováni, reckoned to Elyros in the list:—

Æ. 12 mm. Head of Cretan goat to l., with short curved horns and conspicuous beard; doubtful traces of **Φ** behind.

*Rev.*—Bee; traces of **H Λ** above the wings.

This coin is given by Svoronos among uncertain types, and is figured, Pl. XXXI. 17, from a worn specimen, on which the reverse is struck so high that no letters appear.

We have had occasion already to assign provisionally

to Elyros a coin which does not show the initial of the name; and here we have coins, found on the site in comparative frequency (over ten per cent.), and bearing on both sides the types of the local silver coinage, which is identified by the inscription **EAYPION**. The inscription too differs only in the substitution of **HA** for **EA**. Svoronos gives no find-spot for the specimens which he describes, and offers the choice between four towns whose sites are still undetermined. The new evidence supplied by these six examples ought, I think, to give some support to the attribution of them to Elyros; and though the difference of date between them and the silver coins cannot be large, it may perhaps be great enough to permit us to regard the substitution of **H** for **E** as a temporary peculiarity.

Closely connected with these coins are three examples of an apparently new type, of very similar character.

Æ. 13-15 mm. Goat's head to r., with very thick neck and short curved horns, in ring of large dots.

Rev.—Bee in incuse circle; border of dots; on either side **Y----****P**, and behind the abdomen the monogram **Α**.

I have no hesitation in assigning these coins, on the evidence of the inscription **YPTA**, to Hyrtakos, or Hyrtakina, a little mountain town on a prominent hill surrounded with polygonal masonry, half an hour's ride up the valley westward from Rhodhováni. The types of its rare silver coins correspond closely with those of these examples.

The "uncertain" coins from Rhodhováni are much corroded, but may be described as follows:—

1. 16 mm. Bearded head to r.

*Rev.*—In concave field, an armed warrior in chiton and low helmet advancing to r.; round shield raised on left arm; right arm raised behind head; (?) holding a spear. In the field, **Β Α Φ** and thunderbolt.

Compare the style of the Athena reverse of Gortyna (Svoronos, Pl. XVI. 21), a specimen of which was found at Palæókastro. Apparently a Macedonian regal coin, whose occurrence in Crete seems to suggest a derivation for the native style and types which resemble it (**Β Α Φ** = *Βασιλέως Φιλίππου* (vth); *cf.* Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 205). The Gortyna coin closely follows the types of Antigonos, whose treaty with Eleutherna, found on the site at Prinès, and now in the Museum of the Syllogos at Retimo, is published in *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, xiii., 1889, p. 47. One of his tetradrachms found in the neighbourhood is in the same museum, and there is another in the collection of M. Trifilli, British Vice-Consul at Retimo.

2. 12 mm. Young head to r.; hair in narrow roll.

*Rev.*—Wreath enclosing monogram. (?) **ΕΤ**; if so, Latos-Etera.

Note that a coin of Etera occurs in the list from Palæókastro above. It is now in the British Museum, and is of the type—

Æ. 12 mm. Young male head r., hair hanging over ear.

*Rev.*—Large **Ε** in concave field. (*cf.* Svoronos, XX. 23.)

3. Æ. 15 mm. Female head to l.

*Rev.*—Bunch of grapes, and traces of inscription; probably Kydonia.

4. Æ. 11 mm. Young head to r.; hair in roll.

*Rev.*—Dove to r. (perhaps an “eagle”; compare the coin of Aptera, Svoronos, Pl. I. 17, and the *Κουδὸν Κρητῶν* coin, *id.* Pl. XXXIV. 40) above, crescent to l., with a line drawn obliquely across it. Obscure monogram in front; (?)  $\overline{A}$ ; if so, the coin is of Aptera.

5. *Æ.* 12 mm. Undecipherable.

One of the two Phalasarna coins from Rhodhováni is of peculiarly rude fabric, and seems to have been simply chiselled off square from a bar of metal, and then struck carelessly with  $\Phi$  on flat field; reverse, a dolphin to right in incuse circle. The other coin is of a similar type.

For the rest, the large proportion of Polyrenian, Kydonian, and Gortynian coins from this site, is explained by the necessary trade between the barren schistose hill country of which Elyros is the centre, and the alluvial cornland of the Messara valley, the territory of Gortyna; and again with the fertile wine-country along the north coast. Wine is still brought in some quantity to Rhodhováni from the neighbourhood both of Khanià (Kydonia), and Palæókastro Kissámon. Both at Rhodhováni and at Palæókastro the absence of coins of Knossos is remarkable; though two specimens of the Gortyna-Knossos alliance-coin of (?) 220 B.C. have been credited to Gortyna in the list from Palæókastro. This is the coin figured in Svoronos, Pl. XV. 20, and *Brit. Mus. Cat., Crete*, Pl. XI. 5. Compare Svoronos, VII. 10—12, for the reverse—Europa on the bull, with extended veil—which is usually Knossian; but note that it also occurs at Gortyna inscribed ΓΟΡΤΥΝΙΩΝ (Svoronos, Pl. XV. 27, 28), a specimen of which coin was found at Rhodhováni.

Two other small coins, assigned to Gortyna in the

Rhodhováni list, have apparently the usual obverse with Europa head to right; but on the reverse, within a border of dots, a curious object, which may be a dolphin, to right, but which does not seem to be recognised among Gortynian types. A similar representation occurs at Sybrita (*Brit. Mus. Cat., Crete*, Pl. XIV. 3, and Svoronos s.v.) so the coins may be of a joint issue, or perhaps are wholly Sybritian. The goodwill of the latter place must always have been of importance to Gortyna, because the little hill town commands the passes on the direct road to the northern plains of Mylopótamo, Rétimo, and Apokóróna; and so to Khanià and to the western provinces overland.

The following find-spots in Kíssamo-Sélino are perhaps worth recording:—

1. Polyrenion. *Æ.* drachma: same type as those from Palæókastro bought at Papadianà, close to Hyrtakos.

2. Large bronze coin defaced, apparently of Knossos (Svoronos, VII. 24, 26). Ágios Theódoros in Sélino.

3. Denarius. Head of Libertas r.

*Rev.*—Ceres holding torches, in chariot drawn to r. by two snakes; symbol behind, oblong shield; in exergue, **M . VOLTEI . M . F.** (Babelon, II. 566): Topólia in Kíssamo.

4. M. Cato. *Æ.* Quinarius of last African series. Head of Libertas r. **M . CATO . PROPR.**

*Rev.*—Victory seated r., extending left hand; in exergue, **VICTRIX.** (Babelon, II. 375.) Bought at Róka in Kíssamo.

5. Quinarius. Portrait head to l. **CAESAR [IMP . VII.]**

*Rev.*—Victory above an altar, supported by snakes which are intertwined below. (Mommsen, Pl. XXXIV. 4.) Róka.



6. Domitian. Æ. About 27 mm. Good portrait head to r.; **ΔΟΜΕΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΣ**.

*Rev.*—Eagle displayed, head to l. **ΔΙΟΣ ΙΔΑΙΟΥ**.  
(Svoronos, Pl. XXXIII. 22.) Bought at Trialónia.

7. Trajan. Quinarius. Trajan head to r.

*Rev.*—Ammon head to r. **ΔΗΜΑΡΧ . ΕΞΟΥΣ .**  
**ΥΠΑΤ**. Cæsarea in Cappadocia. Bought at Trialónia.

8. Kydonia. Æ. Name and head of Trajan.

*Rev.*—Kydon suckled by bitch to r.; above, **ΚΥΔΩΝ**.  
Now in Brit. Mus. (Svoronos, Kydonia 153.)  
Bought at Trialónia.

Trialónia is a site about an hour south of Róka, with traces of prehistoric, Greek, and Roman settlements; there is an extensive necropolis, but no inscriptions are forthcoming which will give the town a name.

JOHN C. MYRES.

# V.

## MEDALS AND MEDALLIONS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, RELATING TO ENGLAND, BY FOREIGN ARTISTS.

(Continued from Vol. XIII., p. 335.)

(See Plate V.)

MANFREDINI, Luigi, the elder, Italian medallist. Born at Milan, 1775; Professor of Medallic Art in the Milan Academy of Arts; died 1840.

163. Belzoni's discoveries in Egypt, 1819. Described by Grueber, *Num. Chron.*, 1888, p. 62, No. 2.

164—6. Elizabeth, Duchess of Devonshire, small medalets (1816 ?) described by Grueber, *Num. Chron.*, 1890, p. 94, Nos. 1—3.

167. Similar to No. 166, but reverse instead of Dante has the bust of Virgil to right diademed. Compare the bust by Gatteaux on the French medal commemorating the capitulation of Capua, 1797, Millin, Pl. IV. No. 1.

·55; struck; *AR* (F.P.W.).

168. Lord Byron on his death at Missolonghi, 1824.

*Obv.*—Head with bare neck to left. Signed L. M.

*Rev.*—MNHMA ΠΟΘΟΥ Sepulchral urn, inscribed ΒΥΡΩΝ. In exergue, X (?).

·6; struck; *AR* (M.B.), *Æ* (M.B.). (*Num. Chron.*, 1888, p. 260, 6.)

169. *Obv.*—Same.

*Rev.*—ΕΤΕΝΕΘΗΤΩ ΦΩΣ. Nude male figure (Prometheus) leaning on a globe, regarding hand holding torch above him. Signed L. M.

·6; struck; Æ (M.B.). (*Num. Chron.*, 1888, p. 261, 7.)

170. *Obv.*—Same.

*Rev.*—ΔΙΣ . ΑΛΙΤΕΡ . VISUM. Female figure wearing mural crown, seated to left on a globe, holding cornucopiæ and tablet, inscribed C.T. (?) In exergue, Ι Α (?).

·6; struck; Æ (M.B.). (*Num. Chron.*, 1888, p. 261, 8.)

171. Besides these small medalets of Byron, a still smaller one is described by Grueber in *Num. Chron.*, 1888, p. 261—9, but the artist's signature appears somewhat doubtful.

MAYER, Wilhelm, contemporary German medallist. He is the owner of a medallic establishment at Stuttgart.

171A. German Exhibition at London, 1891. Prize medal.

*Obv.*—WILHELM II DEUTSCHER KAISER. Bust of the German Emperor to left. In an outer circle is a long inscription: I FEEL ENCOURAGED, &c., a quotation from the Emperor's speech at the Guildhall, July 10, 1891. Signed on the truncation W. MAYER STUTTG.

*Rev.*—GERMAN EXHIBITION . LONDON . 1891. Façade of the exhibition. In exergue, PALMAM QUI MERUIT FERAT. Below this are two palm-branches and the inscription IOHN R . WHITLEY GRÜNDER & ORGANISATOR NATIONALER AUSSTELLUNGEN IN LONDON.

2·8; struck; Æ (F.P.W.).

171B. Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone, Prime Minister, and the House of Commons, 1893.

This large medal by Mayer is about to be published by

Mr. J. Rochelle Thomas, having Mr. Gladstone's portrait on the obverse and the names of all the members of the House of Commons on the reverse.

171c. England and the Triple Alliance in Europe (1892?).

*Obv.*—WILHELM II. FR. JOSEPH I. UMBERTO I. Jugate bare heads of the Emperor of Germany, the Emperor of Austria, and the King of Italy to left. In front of them are branches of laurel and palm with a small medallion head of Queen Victoria to right, marked, VICTORIA, on a ribbon.

*Rev.*—Shields of Germany, Austria, Italy, and the royal arms of England within ornamental border.

1·5 inches; struck; Æ (F.P.W.).

171d. Heligoland ceded to Germany, 1890.

*Obv.*—WILHELM II. DEUTSCHER KAISER. His bare head to right. Signed W. M.

*Rev.*—DEUTSCHLANDS JÜNGSTE ERWERBUNG 1890. View of the island. In exergue: an anchor and scroll bearing the inscription HELGOLAND.

1·5; struck; Æ (F.P.W.). There is also a smaller size.

171E—171I.—Besides these there are medals by Mayer of the Duke of Cumberland with his father, King George V. of Hanover; of Dr. Emin Pasha and German explorers in Africa; of Detective-Inspector R. J. Child, of the City of London police, on his retirement, 1891; of the Prince of Wales on his silver wedding, 1888; and of Prince Albert Victor (afterwards Duke of Clarence) on his visit to India, 1890. Most of Mayer's medals may be seen illustrated in his published plates of medals. Some of them bear no artist's signature.

171K. Hygiene Exhibition in London, 1893. Medal described in the *Monatsblatt der Num. Ges. in Wien*, April, 1893, p. 224.

MERLEN, a medallist of the beginning of the present century, probably native of the Netherlands.

172. Napoleon crowned Emperor, 1804. Alarm of England.

*Obv.*—BONTÉ DE TITUS SAGESSE DE M. AVRÈLE  
GÉNIE DE CHARLES M. The Emperor  
Napoleon in his coronation robes standing on a  
shield, held by four warriors. On the right a  
many-headed monster vomits daggers. In  
exergue, AU NOM DU PLUS GRAND DES  
HÉROS FREMIT L' HYDRE BRITAN-  
NIQUE. Signed MERLEN F.

*Rev.*—Chronographic inscription within branches of  
laurel, NAPOLEON BONAPARTE  
LE TRÈS GLORIEUX, &c.

175; struck; R, &c. (Millin Pl., XXXVI., 94; *Trésor*,  
Pl. III. 7.)

MERLEY, Louis (1815—1883), French medallist. Pupil  
of Pradier, David d'Angers, and Galle. Awarded  
the prix de Rome (for gem engraving) in 1843. In  
the "Concours monétaire" of 1848 his gold piece of  
twenty francs gained the first prize.

173. Treaty of commerce between France and England, 1860.

*Obv.*—NAPOLEON III EMPEREUR. His laureate  
head to left. Signed L. MERLEY. F.

*Rev.*—NAPOLEON III. REGNANT TRAITÉ DE  
COMMERCE AVEC L'ANGLETERRE. 23  
JANVIER 1860 ENQUÊTE FAITE PAR  
LE CONSEIL SUPÉRIEUR DU COM-  
MERCE. England and France, standing, are  
engaged in signing the treaty, whilst Minerva  
standing, facing, behind them, rests a hand on  
each. In the background ships and merchandise.  
Signed L. MERLEY. F. M., the last letter  
being a private mark.

23; struck; Æ (F.P.W.). Salon, 1863.

This treaty was largely due to Richard Cobden and Mr. Gladstone. The free trade principles of Sir Robert Peel were furthered and many productions of France were admitted free of duty in exchange for English manufactures.

174. Visit of Queen Victoria to Napoleon III., 1855.

*Obv.*—NAPOLÉON III. EMPEREUR. His laureate head to left. Signed L. MERLEY . F .

*Rev.*—VOYAGE EN FRANCE DE VICTORIA REINE DE LA GR. BRETAGNE. France standing greets England; a Cupid flies towards England and extends a ribbon inscribed "Soyez la bienvenue." Behind England is a ship with the Royal Arms (incorrect?); behind France are the Imperial Insignia of Napoleon III. In exergue, VISITE A NAPOLÉON III EMP. DES FRANÇAIS 18 AOUT 1855. Signed L. MERLEY . F .

3.0 inches; struck; Æ (F.P.W.). Salon, 1863. Reverse figured, Pl. V.

175. Prince Imperial, Louis Napoleon. Majority, 1874.

*Obv.*—NAPOLÉON NÉ A PARIS LE 16 MARS 1856. Bare head to left. Signed, L. MERLEY . F .

*Rev.*—16 MARS 1874.

1.8; struck; Æ (F.P.W.).

Issued when cadet at Woolwich (comp. Medal, No. 178B), together with his manifesto stating that he awaited the 8th *plébiscite*.

MERTENS, A., modern German medallist. I hear from Mr. E. Weigand that he is no longer living.

175A. The Crown-Prince Frederick (afterwards Emperor), and Victoria, Princess Royal of England, on their Silver Wedding, 1883.

*Obv.*—Their busts on a pedestal, jugate to left, encircled by four flying Cupids holding garland of roses. Signed, G. LOOS D. W. UHLMANN SC. A. MERTENS F.

*Rev.*—Inscription within open wreath :—FRIEDR. WILH. KRONPR. D. DEUTSCH. REICHES U. V. PREUSSEN. VICTORIA KRONPR. D. DEUTSCH. REICHES U. V. PREUSSEN PR. R. V. GR. BRIT. U. IRL. ZUR SILBERNEN HOCHZEIT 25 JANUAR 1883.

2·8; struck; Æ (F.P.W.).

- 175B. The Crown Princess of Prussia (Princess Royal of England), Prize Medal of the Women's Industrial Exhibition at Berlin, 1865.

*Obv.*—VICTORIA KRONPRINZESS. V. PR. P. ROYAL V. GR. BR. U. IRL. Her diademed head to right. On the truncation is a monogram of ST (for Prof. M. zur Strassen, who modelled the medal). Signed G. LOOS DIR. A. MERTENS F.

*Rev.*—Wreath, with centre left for recipient's name. Signed H. WITTIG FEC.

1·85; struck; Æ (Adolph Weyl, *Die Paul Henckel'sche Sammlung*, Berlin, 1876, No. 2710.)

MOLTEDO, an artist employed by Durand.

176. Thomas Sydenham, the "English Hippocrates," as he has been called in France. Memorial Medal in Durand's Series. (*Med. Illust.*, vol. i. p. 699, 101.)

MONTAGNY, Jean-Pierre, French medallist (1789—1862).

Pupil of his father, Clément Montagny, and his uncle, Fleury Montagny, and Cartellier.

177. Visit of Queen Victoria to Château d'Eu, 1843.

*Obv.*—VICTORIA I REINE DE LA GRANDE BRETAGNE. Her bust to left. Signed MONTAGNY. F. 1843.

*Rev.*—Inscription:—ENTREVUE DE LEURS  
MAJESTÉS, &c.

2·1; struck; Æ (M.B.).

178. *Obv.*—Similar, but signed MONTAGNY on the truncation.

*Rev.*—LOUIS PHILIPPE I ROI DES FRANÇAIS.  
Head of Louis Philippe with oak crown to left. Signed MONTAGNY.

1·0; struck; Æ (M.B.).

MOREL, a medallist who worked in the first half of the present century. I am not sure of his nationality.

178A. The Duke of Wellington (1815?).

*Obv.*—MARSHAL DUKE OF WELLINGTON. K.G.  
His bust in military uniform to left. Signed  
MOREL F.

No reverse. Size 2·7; shell struck in thin metal, as if to serve as top for a box; Æ (F.P.W.).

MOREL-LADEUIL, Léonard, French silversmith and worker in metal, born at Clermont-Ferrand. He was a pupil of Antoine Vechte (see medal No. 211), and excelled in the same sort of work as his master. For a very long time he resided in London, working for Messrs. Elkington & Co., and sometimes exhibiting his works at the Royal Academy in London and at the Paris Salon. He died in 1888. Most of his works remain in England. Perhaps his finest work is the famous "Milton" shield (Paris Exhibition, 1867), now the property of the South Kensington Museum. It was for having made this that, in 1878, he was decorated with the Legion of Honour.

178B. The Prince Imperial Louis Napoleon (1873?)

*Obv.*—Bust of the Prince Imperial to left in the uniform of a cadet at Woolwich. Signed on the truncation.



cation, "Morel-Ladeuil, 1873" (but the last figure is doubtful).

No Reverse. 5·0; cast; Æ (F.P.W.).

The Prince Imperial, Louis Napoleon, son of the Emperor Napoleon III., was born on 16th March, 1856, in the Palace of the Tuileries at Paris. On the French Revolution of 1870 he came with the Imperial family to Chislehurst, and received a military education at the Royal Military Academy of Woolwich. On the outbreak of the Zulu War he was attached to the staff of Lord Chelmsford in Africa, and was killed at Ulundi on the 1st June, 1879.

This medallion was cast by Mr. James Moore, of Thames Ditton, from Morel-Ladeuil's plaster model. The specimen in my collection is a cast from one of the first bronze medallions.

NATORP, Gustav, contemporary sculptor. Born in Hamburg. A pupil of Prof. A. Legros.

178c. Robert Browning. Cast bronze portrait-medallion. *R.A. Exhib. Cat.*, 1888, No. 1945.

OERTEL, Otto, the owner of a medallic mint at Berlin. He died recently, but the establishment is being carried on under the same name.

179. Island of Heligoland ceded to Germany, 1890, in compensation for territorial concessions in Africa.

*Obv.*—WILHELM II. DEUTSCHER KAISER  
KÖNIG V. PREUSSEN. Head of Emperor  
to right, in low relief.

*Rev.*—ERWERBUNG DER INSEL HELGOLAND  
9. AUG. 1890. Female figure floating with  
the German flag over an Island; the sun rising.  
Signed OERTEL BERLIN. *Edge*, Milled.

1·5; struck; Æ (F.P.W.).

179A. *Obv.*—Similar.

*Rev.*—Inscription is the same. The flag alone is represented. Unsigned. *Edge*, milled.

1·15; struck; Æ (F.P.W.).

179B. Queen Victoria made Honorary Colonel in the German Army, 1889.

*Obv.*—VICTORIA D : G : BRITT : REGINA F : D :  
Bust of Queen Victoria to left as on the English  
“Jubilee” coinage.

*Rev.*—I GARDE DRAGONER REGIMENT KÖNIGIN VON ENGLAND . 2 AUGUST 1889.  
A big letter V crowned. No artist’s signature.  
*Edge*, milled.

1·15; struck; Æ (F.P.W.).

On 12th August, 1889, Queen Victoria was gazetted, in the German *Reichsanzeiger*, honorary Colonel of the 1st Regiment of Dragoon Guards, to be in future known as “The Queen of England’s own.”

179c. Samoa Conference at Berlin, 1889.

*Obv.*—Similar to No. 179, but no numeral after WILHELM.

*Rev.*—SAMOA CONFERENZ . BERLIN . 1889. V. ST. N. AMERIKA . DEUTSCHLAND . ENGLAND . The arms of Germany, Great Britain, United States of America, and Samoa, with names of the representatives at the conference. *Edge*, milled. Not signed by the artist.

1·5; struck; Æ (F.P.W.).

The Conference on Samoan Affairs at Berlin took place 29th April to 14th June, 1889. Sir Edward Malet, whose name occurs on this medal, was plenipotentiary for England.

179D. Similar to last, but legend varied, and names of the representatives not given. *Edge*, milled.

1.15; struck; Æ (F.P.W.).

179E. The Naval Review and visit of the Emperor William II. to England, 1889.

*Obv.*—VICTORIA D . G . QUEEN OF ENGLAND .  
Her bust to left, as on the "Jubilee" coinage.

*Rev.*—THE NAVAL REVIEW AT SPITHEAD 5<sup>TH</sup>  
AUGUST 1889. The naval review. Below,  
anchor between shields of Great Britain and  
Germany. *Edge*, milled. Not signed by  
medallist.

1.5; struck; Æ (F.P.W.).

179F. *Obv.*—WILLIAM II EMP. OF GERMANY  
ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET. Bust of the  
Emperor to right, dressed as an English Admiral.

*Rev.*—Same as 179E.

1.5; struck; Æ (F.P.W.).

OLESZCZYNSKI, Ladislas, a Polish medallist and sculptor,  
who lived at Paris.

180. Right Hon. Robert Outlar Fergusson, 1832, on his  
advocacy of the Polish cause. Described by  
Grueber, *Num. Chron.*, 1891, p. 88. This medal  
is signed WL . OLESZCZYNSKI . F .

The Polish insurrection of 1830 was totally suppressed  
in 1831, and by an ukase, February 26, 1832, the Emperor  
Nicolas incorporated Poland as a province of Russia.  
Fergusson (afterwards Judge Advocate General), liberal in  
all his views, was most eloquent and energetic in his  
advocacy of Poland's cause. This medal of him was  
exhibited in the Paris "Salon" of 1836 (official catalogue,  
No. 2067,2). It is figured in the *Catalogue of the Medals  
of Scotland*, by R. W. Cochran-Patrick, 1884, Plate 26,

fig. 3, and also in the *Cat. de la Coll. des Médailles et Monnaies Polonaises du Comte Em. Hutten-Czapski*. Paris, 1871, vol. ii., Pl. IX., No. 139.

UDINÉ, Eugène-André,<sup>24</sup> French sculptor and medallist (1810—1887). Pupil of Galle, Petitot, and Ingres. He married a grand-daughter of Galle. Got the *prix de Rome* in 1831. He was one of the first medallists to make struck medals (by the help of the reducing machine) in the modern French style, having something of the "soft" appearance of a cast medal.

181. Battle of Inkermann, 1854.

*Obv.*—NAPOLEON III. EMPEREUR. His bare head to left. Signed E. A. UDINÉ. F.

*Rev.*—BATAILLE D'INKERMANN. Two Victories standing on a rampart and supporting the Turkish ensign between them, with their other hands are brandishing the English and French standards, from which flashes of lightning issue. Two warriors, bearing respectively the Shield and Military Ensign of Russia, flee from the ramparts. In the distance, a fortress. In exergue, 5 NOVEMBRE, 1854. Signed E. A. UDINÉ. F.

2·9; struck; Æ (F.P.W.). Salon, 1857. Reverse figured, Pl. V.

PAQUET, Anthony C., medallist. He was born in Hamburg, 1814, emigrated in 1848, and served as assistant, 1857 to 1864, at the Mint of Philadelphia. He died in 1882. A. C. Paquet was probably the son of Toussaint François Paquet, a worker in bronze at Hamburg. (Information received through Mr. Edward Weber, of Hamburg.)

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<sup>24</sup> See Auguste Flandrin, *Notice sur E. A. Oudiné*, Paris, 1888.

- 181A. Medal awarded to Assistant Surgeon, Frederick Henry Rose (1832—1873), of the Royal Navy, for services to the crew of a U.S.A. ship, when disabled with yellow fever in 1857. Described by Dr. H. R. Storer in *Am. Journ. Num.*, July, 1891.

PETIT, Louis-Michel, French sculptor and medallist (1791—1844). Pupil of Simon and Cartellier. He worked for Mudie's series and Durand's series.

182. Wellington, on the lines of Torres Vedras, 1811. Mudie's National Series, No. 17, obverse.

183. Queen Elizabeth. Memorial Medal struck in France about 1820. (*Med. Ill.*, vol. i. p. 185, 195.)

184. Sir Isaac Newton. Memorial Medal in Durand's Series. (*Med. Ill.*, vol. ii., p. 471, 87.)

PIERINI, Carlo, Italian medallist.

185. Elizabeth, Duchess of Devonshire (1816?) Medalet with reverse, a dog's head and a stag's head couped. (*Num. Chron.*, 1890, p. 95, 4.) It is signed by the artist's initials only, C. P., and the attribution appears somewhat uncertain. I can find out nothing about Carlo Pierini.

PISTRUCCI, Benedetto, Italian gem engraver and medalist. He was born at Rome, 1784, of good family, and early acquired such proficiency in gem engraving that his works were disposed of as antiques. His celebrated "Flora" was believed to be the fragment of an antique cameo by the English connoisseur, Payne Knight, who, in spite of evidence, refused to acknowledge it as the work of Pistrucci. Pistrucci came to England in 1815, and in 1817 was appointed chief Engraver to the Mint. He is the author of the classical "St. George and the dragon," the beautiful

reverse type still used on our gold coinage and silver crowns. From 1828—1849 he was Chief Medallist to the Mint, and made several medals, the best known of which is the "Waterloo medallion." He died in 1855. For more details of his life, see his autobiography, translated by Mrs. Billing, in the *Science of Gems*, &c., by A. Billing, M.D., London, 1867. Although Mr. C. W. King, of Cambridge, included him amongst English gem engravers, he was a true Italian, and can well be included amongst foreign medallists. During his lifetime, indeed, there was an outcry on that account against his holding the mint appointment.

#### 186. The Waterloo Medallion.

*Obv.*—Jugate busts l., laur., of the Prince Regent, Francis II., Emperor of Austria, Alexander I., Emperor of Russia, and Frederick William III., King of Prussia; on either side, Justice l., and Hercules r., seated; above, the Sun in quadriga l., preceded by Castor and Pollux, and followed by Iris and Zephyrus; beneath, Night in biga r.; before her, the Furies; behind her the Fates. Signed PISTRUCCI.

*Rev.*—Wellington and Blücher on horseback l., guided by Victory between them; Wellington gallops in advance, and Blücher rushes to his aid; above, Jupiter in quadriga, facing, hurling thunderbolt at giants arranged in circle. Signed PISTRUCCI.

Size 5·3; copper electrotype (M.B.).

This medal was executed in pursuance of an order given by the Prince Regent in 1819, who desired to commemorate the battle of Waterloo by the production of a medal of surpassing magnitude and beauty. It was intended for presentation to each of the allied sovereigns as well as

to the two commanders, Wellington and Blücher; but this object failed, as Pistrucci, who was directed to execute the work, did not accomplish the task till 1st January, 1849, and Wellington then alone survived. This medal has not been issued, as the dies have never been hardened; but it has been reproduced by the electrotype process. The description is taken from H. A. Grueber, *Guide to English Medals*, 1881.

187. Frederick, Duke of York, on his death, 1827.

*Obv.*—FREDERICK DUKE OF YORK AND ALBANY. His head to right. Signed ΠΙΣΤΡΥΚΚΙ ΑΥΤΟΠΤΗΣ ΕΠΙΟΙΕΙ, and bearing name of the publisher, HAMLET.

*Rev.*—Long inscription commencing :—ADMIRABLE AND EXEMPLARY, &c.

2·4; struck; *A*, *AR*, *Æ*.

188. There are also miniature medals of the Duke of York, on his death, 1827. Size, ·325 inches. *A* (M.B.). These were, perhaps, made to be mounted in rings. They are signed under the head, B.P.

189. The Duke of Wellington,<sup>25</sup> 1841.

*Obv.*—FIELD MARSHAL ARTHUR DUKE OF WELLINGTON. His head to left. Signed PISTRUCCI.

*Rev.*—NOVA CANTAMVS TROPÆA AUGUST 1841. A Greek helmet, elaborately ornamented

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<sup>25</sup> I have seen an example in bronze of this medal which has Mr. W. R. Hamilton's name and motto stamped on the edge, evidently a presentation copy from the artist. Mr. William Richard Hamilton (1777—1859), known in connection with the Elgin marbles and the Rosetta stone, was one of Pistrucci's first and firmest supporters in England.

with figures of Hercules, &c., in relief; below, a thunderbolt. Signed PISTRUCCI.

2·4; struck; Æ, R. Reverse figured, Pl. V.

190. Lord Maryborough, Master of the Mint, 1823.

*Obv.*—His bust with bare neck to right. Signed PISTRUCCI.

*Rev.*—Long inscription, IN HONOREM VIRI, &c.  
2 inches; struck; R, Æ (M.B.).

The Hon. William Wellesley-Pole (1763-1845), third son of the first Earl of Mornington, was created Baron Maryborough in 1821, and on the death of his brother in 1842 succeeded as third Earl of Mornington. He was Master of the Mint 1814-1823, and Postmaster-General 1834-1835. Many of the coins issued at the Mint during his tenure of office bear his initials W.W.P. It was for him that Pistrucci engraved the cameo, which served as a model for Pistrucci's famous reverse-type of St. George and the Dragon on the English coins.

191. George IV., 1824.

*Obv.*—ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ Δ ΜΕΓ . ΒΡΕΤ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ. His head diademed to left. Signed ΠΙΣΤΡΥΚΚΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΤΗΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ.

*Rev.*—Trident between two Dolphins, dated ΑΟΚΑ.  
2·4; struck; N, R, Æ (M.B.)

191A. Sir Gilbert Blane, Bart., 1830. The "Blane" naval medical medal.

*Obv.*—GILBERT BLANE BARONETTUS ARCHI-  
ATRVS AET LXXXI. His bare head to left.  
Signed PISTRVCCI.

*Rev.*—MENTE MANVQVE. Britannia, standing left, holds a trident in right hand and places left hand on a medicinal plant, which seems to be



on a pedestal or altar, with the Aesculapian staff, a coiled rope and an anchor grouped around it; in front of Britannia a sailor supports a falling comrade. In exergue, FOUNDED MDCCCXXX.

1.5 inches; struck; *N*, *R* (proof in the Royal Mint Museum). Described by Tancred, p. 404; Dr. H. Storer, *Am. Journ. of Num.*, 1893, p. 83.

Sir Gilbert Blane, Bart. (1749—1834), naval medical officer, was afterwards a physician in ordinary to George IV and William IV. Whilst in the naval service he distinguished himself by his personal bravery as well as by professional capability. Chiefly owing to the exertion of Lord Rodney he was elected in 1783 physician to St. Thomas' Hospital. His counsels led in 1795 to the regulations for the universal use of lemon-juice in the navy as a preventive of scurvy; and, after the medical disasters of the Walcheren expedition, his advice was sought by the Government. The above medal was founded by him in 1830, and specimens in gold are awarded every two years to the two naval medical officers who produce the most approved journals of their practice. The reverse of the medal is unsigned and appears hardly good enough to be Pistrucci's own work.

191B. Queen Victoria, Coronation, 1838.

*Obv.*—ALEXANDRINA VICTORIA. Her head with draped neck to left. Signed BENEDETTO PISTRUCCI CHIEF MEDALLIST ROYAL MINT RUNDELL BRIDGE & CO PUBL.

*Rev.*—DA FACILEM CURSUM ATQUE ADNUE COEPTIS 1838.

3.45; struck; *Æ* (F.P.W.), white metal (Royal Mint Museum).

192—194. He also made the official Coronation Medals of George IV and of Queen Victoria, and according to Billing (p. 207), a large Medal of George IV for Messrs. Rundell, Bridge & Co., most copies of which were melted down again. The latter medal I have never met with; perhaps Dr. Billing had really No. 191b in his mind and not a medal of George IV at all.

194A—194AAA. He "directed" W. J. Taylor's Medal of Taylor Combe, Keeper of Coins and Antiquities in the British Museum, 1826. (*Num. Chron.*, 1890, p. 69.) He likewise "directed" the Long Service Military Medals of William IV and Victoria.

194B. In the British Museum is a wax medallion-model by Pistrucci—portrait of Matthew Boulton.

194C. Wax model with the portrait of Dr. Ant. Fothergill. This was submitted as one of his designs for the Fothergillian Medal of the Royal Humane Society in 1837. Pistrucci, however, disagreed with the Society on a question concerning the design, and the Fothergillian Medal was ultimately produced by W. Wyon, R.A. (Information through Capt. J. W. Home.) What has become of Pistrucci's model is not known.

PONSCARME, François Hubert Joseph, French medallist and sculptor, Professor of Medallie Engraving at the School of Fine Arts at Paris. He was born in 1827 at Belmont (Vosges), and studied under Oudiné and A. Dumont. He is best known for his portraiture on medals.

194D. Adam Smith, the political economist. Memorial struck medal with the portraits of Adam Smith and Turgot. It is the property of the *Société d'Économie Politique* at Paris (Salon, 1881).

194E. Miss H. Parker. Cast bronze portrait medallion, 1878.

ROGAT, Émile, a French medallist of Paris, who worked chiefly after 1830.

195. King Henry VIII. Medal in Durand's Series. (*Med. Illust.*, vol. i. p. 53, 56.)
196. Dr. William Harvey. Memorial Medal, perhaps designed for Durand's Series. (*Med. Illust.*, vol. i. p. 424, 65.)
197. King William III. Medal in Durand's Series. (*Med. Illust.*, ii. p. 226, 555.)
198. William Penn. Medal in Durand's Series. (*Med. Illust.*, ii. p. 439, 41.)
199. Joseph Addison. Medal in Durand's Series. (*Med. Illust.*, ii. p. 444, 50.)
- 199A. Visit of the French National Guards to London in Sept., 1848.
- 199B. Medal of the *Cercle Britannique* at Paris, about 1834. It has the jugate heads to left of Washington, Kosciusko, and Lafayette. (J. R. Snowden, *The Medals of Washington*, Philadelphia, 1861, Pl. VI., No. 12.)
200. Battle of Waterloo, 1815.
- Obv.*—NAPOLEON BONAPARTE. His laureate bust to right with bare neck. Signed E. ROGAT F.
- Rev.*—WATERLOO, 18 JUIN, 1815. An Eagle attacked by four vultures. Signed ROGAT.
- 1·65; struck; Æ (F.P.W.). *Trésor*, Pl. LXV. 8.

This medal is later than the revolution of 1830, when a reactionary admiration for Napoleon set in.

RORY, Louis-Oscar, Membre de l'Institut. Born at Paris, 1846; pupil of Dumont and Ponscarne; *prix de Rome* in 1875. Amongst his cast and struck medals are those of Dr. Léon Gosselin, of 1887; of Prof. Pasteur on his seventieth birthday, 1892; of the chemist, Prof. Chevreul,<sup>26</sup> on his centenary birthday, 1886; of

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<sup>26</sup> Of Prof. Chevreul (1786—1889) there are also a medal by A. Dubois, 1872, and a portrait medallion by David

Madame Roty, with the Latin verses; and of his son, Maurice Roty, 1886. These can all, except the most recent one, be seen at the Luxembourg Museum, at Paris.

201. Sir John Pope Hennessy, 1888.

*Obv.*—SIR JOHN POPE HENNESSY. His bust to right. Signed "O. Roty."

*Rev.*—A SIR JOHN POPE HENNESSY, K.C.M.G. GOUVERNEUR DE L'ILE MAURICE ET DE SES DEPENDANCES LES MAURICIENS RECONNAISSANTS. XXII DECEMBRE MDCCCLXXXVIII. A female half-draped figure seated to left, scattering flowers and watching a steamer leaving the pier. At her feet the shield of arms of St. Mauritius. Signed "O. Roty."

2.75; struck; Æ (F.P.W.). Salon, 1891. Figured, Pl. V.

This is not the least fine of M. Roty's beautiful medals. It was struck by the Mauritians when Sir John Pope Hennessy gave up his governorship of St. Mauritius.

202. Prof. Lewis Campbell, Emeritus Professor of Greek at the University of St. Andrew's, 1893.

*Obv.*—LEWIS . CAMPBELL . PROFESSOR . OF GREEK. ST. ANDREWS . VNIV . 1863 . 1892. His bust to left. Signed "O. Roty."

*Rev.*—ΤΟΙ ΑΕΙ ΕΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΙΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΣΙΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΥΟΝΤΙ M.D.CCCXCIII. An antique seat, bearing the names ΑΙΣΧ[Υ]ΛΟΣ ΣΟΦΟΚΛΗΣ; on the seat are a laurel branch and

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d'Angers, 1830. There are, as far as I know, no contemporary medals of other centenarians, that of the Englishman Thomas Parr (*Med. Ill.*, vol. i. p. 277, 79) being posthumous; probably the medal of Thomas Parr exhibited in the Museum at Orleans is also posthumous.

a scrinium with an unrolled manuscript of Plato. In front of the seat grows an acanthus plant; on the right is a vigorous Delphic laurel with a nightingale singing in its branches.

4.3 inches; cast; Æ (Mrs. Lewis Campbell).

This is the Campbell prize medal, and a specimen, cast in bronze, is to be awarded annually to the best Greek student at St. Andrew's. The above description was taken from the specimen presented to Mrs. Lewis Campbell, on 14th October, 1893. The work on the medal is remarkably fine and the portrait is considered excellent.

SAGAU, Spanish medallist.

203. The Duke of Wellington, on the Battle of Vittoria, 1813.

*Obv.*—WELLINGTON DUQUE DE CIUDAD RODRIGO. His profile head to left. Signed SAGAU.

*Rev.*—TRIUNFO DE VITORIA. Victory on a column inscribed AÑO DE 1813. Behind, trophy of flags and cannons. In exergue, A NOMBRE D LAS CORTES EL DIP. PORCHARCAS.

1.8; struck; Æ (M.B.).

204. The Duke of Wellington, on the Battle of Vittoria, 1813.

*Obv.*—Same as that of No. 203.

*Rev.*—TRIUNFO DE VITORIA. Victory in a battle-field to left, stepping over a Napoleonic standard. In exergue, POR LA PROV. DE CHARCAS D. MAR<sup>o</sup> ROD<sup>z</sup> OLMEDO AÑO 1813.

1.8; struck; Æ (M.B.).

SAULINI, T., Italian gem-engraver.

205. George Townsend, D.D., Canon of Durham, 1850.

*Obv.*—GEORGIUS . TOWNSEND D.D. MDCCCL.  
His head with bare neck to left. Signed T.  
SAVLINI F.

No reverse.

2·6; copper electrotype in British Museum.

SCHARFF, Anton, the director of the School of Engraving at the Imperial Mint in Vienna. He was born at Vienna, 10 June, 1845, and is the son of the medallist Johann Michael Scharff, who died in 1855. Anton Scharff studied under the sculptor and medallist Johann Daniel Boehm, father of the late Sir Edgar Boehm, Bart., of London. His personal medals are much admired throughout Austria and Germany. Amongst them may be mentioned those of Prof. Virchow; Gottfried Keller, the Swiss poet (1819—1890); Theodor Gomperz, Prof. of Classical Philology at Vienna, who helped in deciphering the manuscripts from Herculaneum; Prof. Otto Hirschfeld, of Vienna, on his leaving Vienna for Berlin in 1885; the historian, Alfred von Arneth, of Vienna; Prof. Theodor von Sickel, Director of the Historical Institute at Vienna, &c. I have also a cast oval medal by Scharff, with the portrait of Herr Backofen von Echt (1890), a great lover of works of art. Anton Scharff's own portrait by his pupil, F. X. Pawlik, appears on a beautiful little medal made for the Vienna Numismatic Society in 1893. The following is the only one of Scharff's medals which relates to England.

206. The Queen's Jubilee, 1887.

*Obv.*—REGINA . 1837 . VICTORIA IMPERATRIX

1887. Jugate busts to left of Victoria as Queen in 1837, and as Empress in 1887. Laurel sprig in front. Signed "A. Scharff."

*Rev.*—ANNUS JUBILAEUS . 1887. Britannia, facing, standing in a chariot ornamented with the royal arms and an anchor, and drawn by two lions. She holds a trident in her left hand, whilst her right arm rests on a wheel (? helm-wheel). On the right stands a female figure, who holds a globe and a mirror with long handle and serpent coiled around it. On the left is a figure of Justice holding sword and scales, and in front of Justice a boy carries a flaming torch. In exergue are the arms of the City of London with supporters.

3·2; struck; Æ (M.B. and Guildhall Museum). Figured, Pl. V.

This medal is one of those privately issued by the corporation of the City of London. Of the numerous medals struck for the Jubilee, this and the Art Union medal, by Alfred Gilbert, R.A. (elect), are the finest. It must be acknowledged, however, that some of Scharff's other medals have been more successful than this one.

SCHNITZSPAHN, Christian, medallist at Darmstadt. He was son of the Court jeweller, M. Schnitzspahn, and was born at Darmstadt, 1829. One of his best works is the medal of Th. Fuchs, Consul-General at Antwerp. At one time he worked with the Wyons in London. His death took place several years ago.

207. International Exhibition at London, 1862.

*Obv.*—TO THE COMMEMORATION OF HIS LATE  
R.H. THE PRINCE CONSORT ALBERT.  
Bust of the Prince Consort to left. Signed  
SCHNITZSPAHN F.

*Rev.*—INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION 1862.  
STAMPED IN THE BUILDING BY

H. UELHORN OF GREVENBROICH .  
PRUSSIA. View of the exterior of the Exhibition building. Signed J. WIENER.

1·6; struck; Æ silver-plated (F.P.W.).

208. He is said to have made a medal of the Duke of Edinburgh, to commemorate the Duke's marriage, in 1874, with the Grand Duchess Marie Alexandrovna, daughter of the Czar Alexander II.

SIMON, Jean Henri, medallist, of Brussels (1752—1832).  
He worked in Paris for some time, but returned to Brussels in 1816.

209. King William III. Memorial medal in Simon's series of Illustrious Men of the Low Countries, issued about 1820—1830. (*Med. Ill.*, vol. ii. p. 226, 556.)

STAUDIGEL, F., German medallist.

- 209A. The Crown Prince of Prussia and the Crown Princess (Princess Royal of England), 1858.

*Obv.*—Two medallions, with their profile heads facing each other; above, a crowned eagle holds a festoon of oak-leaves; below, arms, &c. Signed, G. LOOS D. F. STAUDIGEL FEC.

*Rev.*—Inscription within wreath: PREUSS. | FRIED. WILH | VICTORIA | SCHÜTZENFEST | D. BERL. BÜRGER | SCHÜTZENGILDE | D. 28 . 29 . U . 30 | JUNI 1858. |

1·2; struck, with loop for suspension; R (Adolph Weyl, *Die Paul Henckel'sche Sammlung*, Berlin, 1876, No. 2734).

- 209AA. The Crown Prince and Princess of Prussia (Princess Royal of England). Birth of their eldest son (now the German Emperor, William II.), 1859.



Medal by Staudigel and Kullrich. See description under KULLRICH, Wilhelm, No. 258, in ADDENDA.

STETTNER, Johann Thomas, born in 1786 at Nürnberg.

He was an engraver to the Bavarian Royal Mint.

209B. Successes of the Allies in 1813.

*Obv.*—GERECHTIGKEIT WEISHEIT . U : EINIGKEIT BEGLÜCKEN . D : MENSCHHEIT . Justice, Minerva (for Wisdom), and Concord, standing facing. Signed in exergue: "Tho: Stettner."

*Rev.*—EINTRACHT ÜBERWINDET ALLES . A classical temple with shields of the Allies (a harp for England) affixed to the columns and bearing the inscription: HEIL EUCH VEREINTEN . In the exergue: the date 1813. Signed "St:."

2·05; struck; white metal (F.P.W.). It is hollow, opens like a box, and should contain coloured views and accounts of the successes of the Allies at Leipzig, Vittoria, &c.

STRASSEN, M. zur. See ZUR STRASSEN, M.

STUCKHART, F., a medallist at Vienna in the beginning of this century. Some of his medals are figured in the *Trésor de Numismatique* (volume of medals of the first Napoleon).

209c. Wellington and Blücher, on the Battle of Waterloo and the fighting between the 16th and the 18th June, 1815.

*Obv.*—HERZOG VON WELLINGTON FÜRST VON BLÜCHER. Arms and a broken Napoleonic standard lying on ground, marked S . IOAN and WATERLOO. Above, within a circle adorned with trophy of flags, the heads of

Wellington and Blücher, facing, with a laurel-wreath above them, and, below them, the words LA BELLE ALLIANCE. Signed F. STUCK-HART F.

*Rev.*—A winged male figure in clouds, flying to left, bears sword, laurel-branch, and shield. The shield is ornamented with fasces, laurel-branch and the words M. S. IOAN and WATERLOO. Below this is an inscription in ten lines:—DEM ANDENKEN DER FÜR DIE VERBÜNDETEN HEERE SO SIEGREICHEN, FÜR EUROPAS WOHL SO ENTSCHEIDENDEN TAGE DES 16 : 17 : 18 : JUNI . 1815 . Signed ST.

1·4; struck; R (F.P.W.). *Trésor*, Pl. LXV., No. 10.

The battle of Waterloo was called by the French the battle of Mont S. Jean, and by the Germans the battle of La Belle Alliance. All three terms are used on the above-described medal.

TASSET, Ernest-Paulin, contemporary medallist of Paris, a pupil of Oudiné. Perhaps one of Tasset's finest works is his struck portrait medal of the French geologist, Edmond Hébert, 1890, which may be seen at the Luxembourg Gallery at Paris.

209D. Canadian Exhibition prize medal, 1876.

*Obv.*—DOMINION OF CANADA. A winged figure of Fame flying to right, holding palm-branch and blowing a trumpet. Signed P. TASSET.

*Rev.*—Crowned shield of arms of the Dominion of Canada within a maple wreath, open at the top and with a beaver at the part below shield.

1·6; struck; N, R, Æ. R. W. MacLachlan, *Canadian Numismatics*, 1886, No. CCCCLXXXIV.

This medal was awarded, in gold, silver, or copper, to

the Canadian exhibitors at the Centennial Exhibition in 1876, and at one or two Dominion exhibitions since.

**TOLSTOI**, Count Feodor Petrovitch, Russian sculptor and medallist. He was born, 1783, in St. Petersburg; served in the marines at first, but soon devoted himself to the fine arts; educated himself, forming his style after ancient works of art; became Professor of Sculpture and Medallie Art, and vice-president of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts at St. Petersburg. He died at St. Petersburg, 1873.

Though only indirectly relating to England, his series of medals on the French war (1812—1814) must be mentioned here. The medals are in classic style, and in minuteness of execution some of them rival the works of Pistrucci. See illustrations of some of them in the *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* of the great Exhibition at London, 1851, vol. iii., Nos. 216—219.

**TRENTACOSTE**, Domenico, contemporary sculptor, born in Sicily, living in Paris.

210. Medallion portrait of Miss E. Burgess, 1892.

*Obv.* **ETHEL MARY BURGESS**. Head with draped neck to left. Signed "D. Trentacoste 1892."

8·1 inches; cast; Æ (Mr. J. B. Burgess, R.A.).

**UHLMANN**, Waldemar, contemporary sculptor at Berlin. His name appears as the modeller on medal No. 175A.

**VECHTE**, Antoine, French sculptor and goldsmith, born in 1800 at Avallon, in Burgundy, died in 1868.

He began his career as an ordinary smith at Paris, but soon gained the opportunity of developing his extraordinary talents for metal-work. During many years he worked in London for Messrs. Hunt and Roskell, of New Bond Street, just as his pupil, L. Morel-Ladeuil (see Medal No. 178B) did for Messrs. Elkington & Co. One of his finest works is a vase, which may be seen in the Louvre Museum. He excels in very low relief, but this vase is remarkable for all the grades of relief being skilfully combined, the whole appearing in perfect harmony. Some of the figures are worked out in bold relief, almost in the round; others are in lower relief, and this fades away gradually so that at the foot of the vase some of the work is mere engraving, without any relief at all. In the Musée Condé at Chantilly is an excellent low relief in silver, dated 1867, for the cover of a book. Much of his work still remains in England. Of Vechte's two medallions, the large one (diam. 6·2 in.) of the Virgin Mary (with the head of Pope Pius IX below) is marvellously beautiful, but though executed for Messrs. Hunt and Roskell in gold, and described by Cardinal Wiseman, it does not enter into the English series; the other is the medallion awarded for success in the yearly National Art Competition, instituted in 1857, and open to all art schools in the United Kingdom.

211. National Art Competition Medal (1857).

*Obv.*—In the centre is a small medallion with a profile head of the Queen to left, and the legend VICTORIA QUEEN BY THE GRACE OF GOD, 1857. Around this central piece is a

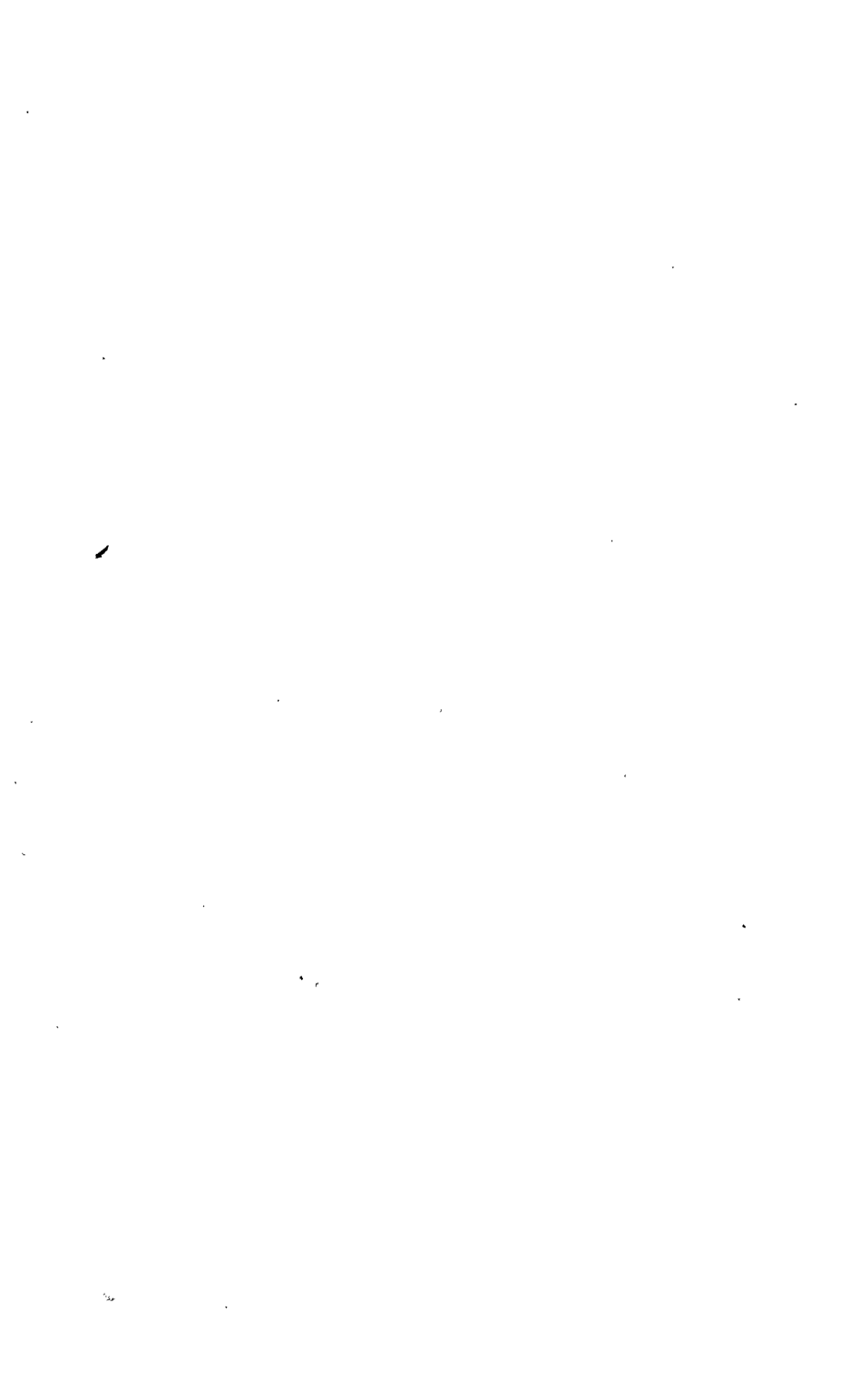
frieze of figures; above, a vigorous male figure striving onwards, with the muscles in violent action, holds out the laurel wreath of success; a serpent-like monster in vain menaces him on the left. Below, a resting figure of Time supports a shield destined to bear the successful competitor's name, and a flying Cupid on the left helps to steady it. The rest of the frieze is filled up by five nearly nude female figures representing Truth, Science, the Arts, &c. The first on the left is a floating figure of Fame; another is seated with a drawing-board and pencil (fine arts), and at her a satyr gazes in amazement; a third one holds a pair of scales (Justice); another holding the mirror of truth looks eagerly forward as if endeavouring to pierce the darkness which surrounds the secrets of nature; the last one is seated and holds a book engraved "Art Science." The whole device is surrounded by an ornamental border with the legend FOR SUCCESS IN THE NATIONAL ART COMPETITION. Artist's signature is below the shield, "A. Vechte."

No reverse.

5.6 inches diam.; thick electrotype in  $\text{Æ}$  (M.B.).  
Figured, Pl. V.

This prize medal was only issued in electrotype. The original, in silver repoussé and chased, is exhibited at the South Kensington Museum, together with electrotypes taken before it was finally finished. There is also in the South Kensington Museum what appears to be a first study for it in wax. The medal was awarded in the National Art Competition from its commencement in 1857 to 1865 inclusive. The specimen in my own collection ( $\text{Æ}$  electrotype) has SPECIMEN engraved on the shield.

VIVIER, Matthias Nicolas Marie, French medallist, born 1788, lived till about 1859. He worked for Durand's series.





181



174



217



201



201



235



215 H



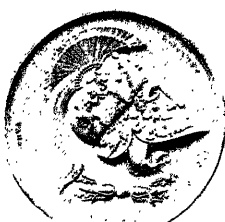
211



220



220



189



206



206

212. Alexander Pope. Durand's Series. (*Med. Ill.*, vol. ii., p. 584, 225.)

212A. John Milton. Durand's series. (*Med. Ill.*, vol. i., p. 565, No. 231.)

VOIGT, Carl Friedrich, German medallist and gem-engraver. He was born in 1800, at Berlin, and studied at first with the goldsmith Vollgold, but from 1820 till he left Berlin worked at the medallic establishment of G. Loos (see under Loos, Gottfried B.). Was in London 1825—1826, and worked under Pistrucci; then he visited Paris and Rome and came to Munich in 1829, where King Ludwig made him first medallist at the mint. In 1859 he settled in Rome; died at Trieste 1874. Voigt's signature may be seen on coins of Pope Pius IX, issued in 1870; the last coins of the Papal series.

213. John Scott, Earl of Eldon, on his resignation of the Lord-Chancellorship, 1827.<sup>27</sup>

*Obv.*—JOHN EARL OF ELDON LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF GREAT BRITAIN, 1827. His bust as Lord Chancellor to left. Signed C. VOIGT F.

*Rev.*—Inscription, BORN 4 . JUNE 1751, &c.

1·9; struck; *Æ*, *Æ* (M.B.). (*Num. Chron.*, 1891, p. 73, 1.)

214. *Obv.*—Same.

*Rev.*—Oaken wreath. No inscription.

1·9; struck; *Æ* (M.B.). (*Num. Chron.*, 1891, p. 74, 2.)

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<sup>27</sup> See Nagler, *Künstler-Lexicon*, vol. xx., p. 503. This medal was completed by Voigt in Rome.



215. Entry of George IV into Hanover, 1821.

*Obv.*—GEORGIUS IV. D . G . BRITAN . ET  
HANNOV . REX FID . DEF. His laureate  
head to right with draped neck. Signed G.  
LOOS DIR. C. VOIGT FEC.

*Rev.*—FELICEM AVGVSTI ADVENTUM REGNUM  
HANNOVERAN . CELEBRAT MDCCCXXI.  
The king on horseback to right preceded by  
female figure with cornucopiæ and caduceus.

1·6 ; struck ; Æ (M.B.).

215A. J. Borthwick Gilchrist, the Orientalist. Memorial medal.

*Obv.*—JOHN BORTHWICK GILCHRIST . BORN  
1759 . DIED 1841 . His clothed bust, facing,  
slightly inclined to right. Signed, C . VOIGT.

*Rev.*—A winged female figure, with a star above her  
laureate head, is seated facing ; she holds a  
tablet and instructs three children, grouped  
around her. In exergue, FIAT LVX.

2·25 ; struck ; Æ (F.P.W.)

John Borthwick Gilchrist was born at Edinburgh in 1759. In 1783 he was appointed assistant-surgeon in the East India Company's service, and was promoted to a surgeoncy in 1794. He saw that to hold effective intercourse with the natives Hindustani should be learned instead of Persian. Clad in native garb he travelled through those provinces where Hindustani was spoken in its greatest purity, and also acquired good knowledge of Sanskrit, Persian, and other Eastern tongues. In 1800 he was appointed head of the newly-founded Fort William College at Calcutta. In 1804, owing to ill-health, he returned home. After some time spent in Scotland, he came to London, and was made, in 1818, Professor of Hindustani to the East India Company. He died at Paris

in 1841. (See *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*) Amongst his publications was the first dictionary of Hindustani.

The medal alludes to his interest in educational matters and to the "Gilchrist Educational Trust," a sum of money which he bequeathed to be used for educational purposes. The medal was made for the Gilchrist trustees, at the instance of their chairman, Sir John Bowring, and a specimen in bronze is awarded annually by the trustees as a prize-medal, in conjunction with a scholarship, to one of the pupils of the Royal Female School of Art; it is also awarded together with a book-prize to the best female candidate in the annual London B.A. examination.

VRIES, S. DE, a contemporary Dutch die-sinker and medallist, living at the Hague.

215B. The Battle of Waterloo, 1815. Memorial Medal struck on the 50th anniversary celebration in Holland, 1865.

*Obv.*—EENDRAGT MAAKT MAGT. Figures of Liberty and Victory, standing, holding together a wreath in their right hands; on the right are the Netherlands' monument at Waterloo and a trophy of arms; on the left is a lion, facing, with broken fetters. In exergue, the dates 1815—1865. Signed, S . DE VRIES . S'HAGE .

*Rev.*—Within a wreath decorated with the arms of Great Britain, Prussia, Hanover, Holland, &c., is the inscription:—PR . V . ORANJE . SAXEN - WEYMAR . PERPONCHER . BRUNSWYK-OELS . UXBRIDGE . WEL-LINGTON . PICTON . BÜLOW . ZIETHEN . BLÜCHER . , Wellington's name occupying the centre.

2·8; struck; Æ (F.P.W.).

Of the names mentioned on the reverse of this medal,

that of the Duke of Brunswick does not strictly speaking belong to Waterloo, since he was killed at the battle of Quatrebras, which took place two days before Waterloo. It may be mentioned that the Dutch General, Count Perponcher, had previously fought for the English in 1801 in Egypt, and in 1809 in the attack on Antwerp.

215c. Geneva Convention of 1864. Dutch Ambulance Medal, 1870.

*Obv.*—ANIMA . VULNERATORUM . CLAMAVIT .  
22 . AUGUSTUS . 1864 . The red-cross flag  
of Geneva with the date 1870 above it, and  
below it the reference JOB . XXIV . 12.

*Rev.*—XXVI . OCT . 1863 . The arms of Geneva in  
the centre, and around this the arms of twenty  
states who joined the Convention, including  
those of England, the United States of America,  
Prussia, France, Russia, &c. The arms of each  
state bear the name of the state on a ribbon.  
Signed, S . DE VRIES . LA HAYE .

1·7; struck; Æ (F.P.W.). Ch. Van Peteghem, *Médailles  
de 1870-1871*, Paris, 1889, p. 94, No. 1,012.

215d. Similar medal, but smaller and with loop for suspension. Signed S . D . V .

·65; struck; Æ (F.P.W.). It was to be worn with an  
orange-coloured ribbon.

The international conference held on the 26th October, 1863, was largely due to the exertions of M. Henri Dunant and the "Société Gènevoise d'Utilité Publique." The propositions drawn up were ultimately accepted as an international code by a congress which met at Geneva in August, 1864. The international "Red Cross Society," established in consequence of these proceedings, did good service in relieving the sick and wounded during the Franco-German War of 1870—1871.

WECKWERTH, Hermann, contemporary German medallist, formerly employed at Oertel's medallic mint at Berlin, where the following medals were struck. He has likewise worked for Loos' mint.

215E. The Crown Prince Frederick (afterwards Emperor) and Victoria, Princess Royal of England, on their Silver Wedding, 1883.

*Obv.*—FR . WILH . KRONPRINZ . VICTORIA  
KRONPRINZESSIN D . DEUTSCH .  
REICHS . Their bare heads, jugate to right.  
Signed, H . WECKWERTH .

*Rev.*—ZUR ERINNERUNG AN DIE SILBERNE  
HOCHZEIT D . 25 JANUAR 1883 . Shields  
of Germany and Great Britain between branches  
of laurel ; above, a crown ; below, a scroll with  
the dates, 1858 . 1883 .

1·2 ; struck ; Æ (F.P.W.).

215F. Berlin Congress on the Eastern Question, 1878.

*Obv.*—In the centre is a figure of Peace seated to left, resting left forearm on a shield bearing the inscription, MIT VEREINTER KRAFT. Around are seven medallion profiles of the representatives of the different nations, with their names (Lord Beaconsfield for England and M. W. H. Waddington, afterwards Ambassador at London, for France). Signed H . WECKWERTH .

*Rev.*—Inscription within ornamental border of ivy :  
ZUR ERINNERUNG AN DEN CONGRESS  
IN BERLIN 13 JUNI—13 JULI 1878 . MÖGE  
ER DEN VÖLKERN DEN ERSEHTEN  
FRIEDEN BRINGEN !

1·5 ; struck ; Æ (F.P.W.).

215G. Same as last, but having inscription on reverse in French.

The Berlin Congress on the Eastern Question was opened on 13th June, 1878, and the agreement was signed by the different representatives on 13th July.

England was represented by Lord Beaconsfield and the Marquis of Salisbury. Cyprus was placed under the protection of Great Britain, and on his return to England Lord Beaconsfield said he brought "peace with honour." The idea of the above-described medals is evidently derived from Kullrich's medal on the Peace of Paris, 1856. (See medal No. 127).

WEIGAND, Emil, contemporary German medallist, born in Berlin, 1837. From 1863 to 1866 he worked with the Wyons in London. Since 1887 he has occupied the position of chief medallist of the Royal Mint at Berlin.

215H. Richard Cobden. On his Death, 1865, and Jubilee of the European Peace of 1815.

*Obv.*—RICHARD COBDEN BORN 1804 DIED 1865.  
His clothed bust, three-quarter to right. Signed on truncation, E. WEIGAND.

*Rev.*—Inscription within open wreath:—PEACE JUBILEE. ANGLO-FRENCH WORKING-CLASS EXHIBITION LONDON 1865. LAUS LABORI. Signed, H. BROWN DIR. E. WEIGAND F.

1.65; struck; Æ (F.P.W.). Obverse figured, Pl. V.

Richard Cobden, the politician, was born at Dunford, near Midhurst, in 1804. His parliamentary career commenced when he was elected M.P. for Stockport in 1841. He advocated with all his energy the Repeal of the Corn Laws, and to him Sir Robert Peel gave all the credit of this measure. His name will ever be remembered in connection with Free Trade. In 1859 and 1860 he was engaged in arranging the Treaty of Commerce between France and England (see medal No. 173). He was

opposed to Lord Palmerston's foreign policy, which he designated as warlike. This medal was struck in the Crystal Palace.

- 215I. The Crown Prince (afterwards Emperor Frederick) and the Crown Princess Victoria. Sanatoria and Sea-side Holidays for Children on the Baltic Coast, 1884.

*Obv.*—Jugate heads of the Crown Prince and Crown Princess to left. Below, the date 1884. Signed E. WEIGAND F.

*Rev.*—Female figure (Hygieia?) standing on the sea-shore, places her hands on the heads of a boy and girl, one on each side of her. In the background is the sea, with vessels on it. In exergue, two serpents feeding out of a dish. Signed W. KULLRICH I . E . F . (invenit et fecit).

2·0; struck; R (F.P.W.).

This was a "lottery-medal," issued in 1884 by the Society for the Furtherance of Sanatoria for Children, a society under the patronage of the Crown Prince and Crown Princess.

WIENER, Charles, medallist and sculptor of Brussels (1832—1887). Was the younger brother of Jacques and Leopold Wiener, and studied under his brothers and the French medallist Oudiné. After this he spent some time at the Hague, at London, and at Lisbon, but returned to Belgium in 1867, where, in 1880, he received the Cross of the Order of Leopold. During his time in London (1862—5) he produced some English pattern coins which bear his signature.

216. Reception of the Czar Alexander II. at the Guildhall, 1874.

*Obv.*—ALEXANDER II RUSSORUM IMPERATOR.  
Bust of the Czar to left. Signed CH. WIENER  
BRUSSELS.

*Rev.*—SERVORUM EMANCIPATOR LIBERAE  
CIVITATIS HOSPE . LONDINI . XVIII  
MAII MDCCCLXXIV. On the right a female  
figure is standing, wearing mural crown and  
having at her side a shield ornamented with  
the arms of the City of London. Two Cupids,  
one at either side of her, carry the mace and  
sword of ceremony. She represents the City of  
London and welcomes the Czar, who advances  
towards her from the left. A winged female  
figure who stands on a pedestal behind them  
holds in right hand a laurel branch and in left a  
cornucopiæ. At the back of the Czar is a  
pedestal surmounted by the Russian eagle and  
inscribed: EDICTUM IMPERIALE III  
MARTII MDCCCLXI MANUMISSIO  
SERVORUM. The reverse is signed CHARLES  
WIENER.

3.5; struck; Æ (Guildhall Library, M.B.).

This medal, like the following, is one of the medals privately issued by the Corporation of the City of London. The whole of the Corporation medals are described and illustrated in a book by Mr. Charles Welch, F.S.A., shortly to be published.

217. Epping Forest opened to the public, 1882.

*Obv.*—Bust of the Queen to left; border of roses, thistles, and shamrocks. Signed CH. WIENER FECIT.

*Rev.*—IT GIVES THE GREATEST SATIS-  
FACTION TO DEDICATE THIS BEAUTI-  
FUL FOREST FOR THE USE AND  
ENJOYMENT OF MY PEOPLE FOR  
ALL TIME. EPPING FOREST . 6 .  
MAY . 1882. (This legend is from the  
Queen's Speech at her official opening of the  
Forest.) View of Epping Forest; the Queen is

seated on the right; on the left is a female figure, standing, wearing a mural crown. She personifies the City of London and is engaged in breaking down the forest enclosures.

3 inches; struck; Æ (Guildhall Library, M.B.). Reverse figured, Pl. V.

Epping Forest was acquired by the Corporation of the City of London, and formally opened to the public by the Queen, 6th May, 1882. This medal was made for the Corporation of the City.

218. The Prince Consort on his death, 1861.

*Obv.*—ALBERT PRINCE CONSORT, &c. His head to left. Signed CHARLES WIENER FEC.

*Rev.*—Within wreath, FOUNDER OF THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS OF 1851 AND 1862.

2·7; struck; Æ (M.B.).

Another specimen in the British Museum has an inscription outside the wreath on reverse, commemorating the inauguration of the Memorial of the Exhibition, 1851, on June 10th, 1863 (Æ, M.B.). This is probably the completed medal, the last being from an unfinished die.

219. Alexander Herzen. Decennium of the Free Russian Press in London, 1863. (Described by Grueber in *Num. Chron.*, 1892, p. 236).

219A. Sir Anthony van Dyck. Memorial Medal. For description see No. 223. The two medals are exactly the same except for the signature, this being signed by Charles Wiener, whereas No. 223 is signed by his brother, Leopold Wiener.

2·7; struck; Æ; (F.P.W.).



219B. Jonas Webb, of Babraham. Memorial Medal.

*Obv.*—JONAS WEBB. BORN NOVEMBER 10<sup>TH</sup> 1796 . DIED NOVEMBER 10<sup>TH</sup> 1862. (In outer circle:—) WE SHALL NOT LOOK UPON HIS LIKE AGAIN. His clothed bust three-quarters to left. Signed, C. WIENER.

*Rev.*—FOUNDER OF THE BABRAHAM SOUTH-DOWNS. A Babraham South-Down sheep standing to right.

2·35; struck; Æ (Guildhall Library).

Mr. Jonas Webb (1796—1862) of Babraham, Cambridgeshire, was a farmer and celebrated breeder of sheep.

WIENER, Jacques, of Brussels, eldest of the three brother medallists, is still living. He was born in 1815, at Hoerstgen, in the Rhenish provinces, and studied at Aix-la-Chapelle, under his uncle Baruch Wiener. After some time in Paris he settled in Brussels in 1839, and became later a naturalised Belgian. He devoted himself chiefly to the medallic representation of architecture, and his series of medals of cathedrals is well known. The first postage stamps issued in Belgium were engraved by him.

220. Sir Charles Barry, R.A. Memorial Medal issued by the Art Union of London, 1862.

*Obv.*—SIR C. BARRY R.A. ARCHITECT. ART-UNION OF LONDON 1862. His draped bust to right. Signed LEOPOLD WIENER.

*Rev.*—View of Houses of Parliament. Signed J. WIENER. In exergue, COMMENCED 1837—INAUGURATED 1847.

2·35; struck; Æ (F.P.W.) Figured, Pl. V.

Sir Charles Barry, the architect of the Houses of Parliament, was born 1795, and died 1860.

- 221—221D. These are medals of the English cathedrals, York, Lincoln, Winchester, Westminster and St. Paul's. Each medal has an exterior and an interior view of the cathedral by J. Wiener. They were published by Elkington & Co.

2·35; struck; Æ.

222. International Exhibition, London, 1862.

See description under No. 207. The reverse is by J. Wiener.

- 222A. *Obv.*—Same as reverse of No. 222.

*Rev.*—View of the interior of the Exhibition building. Signed, J. WIENER.

1·6; struck; Æ silver-plated (F.P.W.).

WIENER,<sup>28</sup> Leopold, medallist and sculptor of Brussels (1823—1891). He studied under his brother Jacques Wiener, the French sculptor David d'Angers, and the French medallist Barre père. On the death of Bræmt in 1864, he was appointed first engraver to the Belgian mint. Amongst his chief medals may be mentioned that on the death of the Queen of the Belgians in 1850, and that on the twenty-fifth anniversary of Belgian independence in 1855.

223. Sir Anthony van Dyck. Memorial Medal.

*Obv.*—ANTOINE VAN DYCK. His clothed bust to left. Signed LEOPOLD WIENER.

*Rev.*—NÉ À ANVERS 22 MARS 1599. DÉCÉDÉ À LONDRES 9 DECEMB 1641. STATUE ÉRIGÉE À ANVERS 1856. The statue of Van Dyck erected at Antwerp. Signed LEOP. WIENER D'APRÈS L. DE CUYPER.

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<sup>28</sup> For biographical notices of the brothers Wiener see Mr. Fred. Alvin's paper in the *Magazine of Art*, 1891, also his papers in the *Revue belge de Num.* (1888 and 1892).

219B. Jonas Webb, of Babraham. Memorial Medal.

*Obv.*—JONAS WEBB. BORN NOVEMBER 10<sup>TH</sup> 1796. DIED NOVEMBER 10<sup>TH</sup> 1862. (In outer circle:—) WE SHALL NOT LOOK UPON HIS LIKE AGAIN. His clothed bust three-quarters to left. Signed, C. WIENER.

*Rev.*—FOUNDER OF THE BABRAHAM SOUTH-DOWNS. A Babraham South-Down sheep standing to right.

2·35; struck; Æ (Guildhall Library).

Mr. Jonas Webb (1796—1862) of Babraham, Cambridgeshire, was a farmer and celebrated breeder of sheep.

WIENER, Jacques, of Brussels, eldest of the three brother medallists, is still living. He was born in 1815, at Hoerstgen, in the Rhenish provinces, and studied at Aix-la-Chapelle, under his uncle Baruch Wiener. After some time in Paris he settled in Brussels in 1839, and became later a naturalised Belgian. He devoted himself chiefly to the medallic representation of architecture, and his series of medals of cathedrals is well known. The first postage stamps issued in Belgium were engraved by him.

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*Rev.*—View of Houses of Parliament. Signed J. WIENER. In exergue, COMMENCED 1837—INAUGURATED 1847.

2·35; struck; Æ (F.P.W.) Figured, Pl. V.

Sir Charles Barry, the architect of the Houses of Parliament, was born 1795, and died 1860.

221—221D. These are medals of the English cathedrals, York, Lincoln, Winchester, Westminster and St. Paul's. Each medal has an exterior and an interior view of the cathedral by J. Wiener. They were published by Elkington & Co.

2·35; struck; Æ.

222. International Exhibition, London, 1862.

See description under No. 207. The reverse is by J. Wiener.

222A. *Obv.*—Same as reverse of No. 222.

*Rev.*—View of the interior of the Exhibition building. Signed, J. WIENER.

1·6; struck; Æ silver-plated (F.P.W.).

WIENER,<sup>28</sup> Leopold, medallist and sculptor of Brussels (1823—1891). He studied under his brother Jacques Wiener, the French sculptor David d'Angers, and the French medallist Barre père. On the death of Bræmt in 1864, he was appointed first engraver to the Belgian mint. Amongst his chief medals may be mentioned that on the death of the Queen of the Belgians in 1850, and that on the twenty-fifth anniversary of Belgian independence in 1855.

223. Sir Anthony van Dyck. Memorial Medal.

*Obv.*—ANTOINE VAN DYCK. His clothed bust to left. Signed LEOPOLD WIENER.

*Rev.*—NÉ À ANVERS 22 MARS 1599. DÉCÉDÉ À LONDRES 9 DECEMB 1641. STATUE ÉRIGÉE À ANVERS 1856. The statue of Van Dyck erected at Antwerp. Signed LEOP. WIENER D'APRÈS L. DE CUYPER.

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<sup>28</sup> For biographical notices of the brothers Wiener see Mr. Fred. Alvin's paper in the *Magazine of Art*, 1891, also his papers in the *Revue belge de Num.* (1888 and 1892).

2·7; struck; Æ (F.P.W.). This medal was the conjoint work of the brothers Leopold and Charles Wiener, since, except for the signature, it is exactly the same as No. 219A, which is signed by Charles Wiener. The statue of Van Dyck in front of the Museum of Antwerp was executed and presented by the sculptor, Leonhard de Cuyper, in 1856.

224. Obverse of the medal of Sir Charles Barry, described under No. 220.

WITTIG, Hermann, modern German medallist. He died about five years ago in Rome. His name appears as that of the medallist on the reverse of medal No. 175B.

WOLF, B. A medallist, who worked in Paris at beginning of the nineteenth century.

225. Charles James Fox. Durand's series. (Grueber in *Num. Chron.*, 1891, p. 100, 13.)

226. Sir Anthony Vandyck. Durand's series. (*Med. Ill.*, vol. i., p. 290, 104.)

227. George Frederick Handel, the musical composer. Medal in Durand's series, 1823. (*Med. Ill.*, vol. ii., p. 696, 424.)

WÜRDEN, Ch., a medallist of Brussels.

227A. The Brussels Conference, 1874.

*Obv.*—The arms of Brussels surrounded by circle of fifteen shields of arms, including those of Great Britain, Germany, France, Turkey, Spain, &c. Around them are four trophies of arms. In the angles are the letters A.B. R.C. Signed CH. WÜRDEN.

*Rev.*—Long inscription with the names of members of the Congress, including that of General Sir Alfred Horsford, dated 1874. There is an ornamental Gothic border on both obverse and reverse.

2·6; in ornamental shape, somewhat like a quatrefoil with angular projections between the leaves; struck; Æ (F.P.W.).

This international conference took place at the instance of the Society for the Amelioration of the Conditions of Prisoners of War. Baron Jomini from Russia was president, and General Sir Alfred Horsford was delegate for England. The conference lasted from 27th July to 28th August, 1874, but closed without important results.

ZAMBACO, Madame M. T., sculptor, a contemporary artist of Greek parentage. She was a pupil of Professor Legros. The following large medals by her are cast in bronze. Nos. 230 to 234 were exhibited at the summer exhibition of the New Gallery in 1888 (under No. 331 of the official catalogue).

228. John Marshall, F.R.S., 1886.

*Obv.*—JOHN MARSHALL F.R.S., F.R.C.S. MDCCC-LXXXVI. His clothed bust to left. Signed on the truncation, "M. T. Zambaco fecit."

*Rev.*—A group of books, &c. Above is a scroll, inscribed, ABSQUE LABORE NIHIL.

5·1; cast; Æ (M.B.).

Professor John Marshall, F.R.S., was born at Ely in 1818, and studied medicine at University College Hospital. He was Professor of Anatomy to the Royal Academy, President of the General Medical Council,

and, at one time, President of the Royal College of Surgeons. He died at Chelsea on 1st January, 1891.

229. Mrs. Marie Stillman, painter, 1886.

*Obv.*—MARIE STILLMAN MDCCCLXXXVI. Her clothed bust to left. Signed on the truncation, "M. T. Zambaco."

*Rev.*—A lily with three flowers; the stem is crossed by a scroll, inscribed, SINE MACULA.

5·3; cast; Æ (M.B.).

230. Prof. Alphonse Legros.

231. Thom. Carlyle.

232. Cardinal Manning.

233. George Frederick Watts, R.A.

234. Mrs. Langtry.

ZUR STRASSEN, M., contemporary German sculptor. He made models for medals produced at the establishment of Loos in Berlin, and is now a professor at the School of Art in Leipzig. The ST. on the truncation of the head in the medal No. 175B is his signature.

234A. Victoria, Princess Royal. Betrothal to the Crown Prince Frederick of Prussia (afterwards German Emperor). 1857.

*Obv.*—VICTORIA PR . ROYAL OF ENGLAND . Her head to right. Signed, M. ZUR STRASSEN . FEC . 1857 .

No reverse.

5·5. This is a portrait medallion forming a pair with the corresponding one of the Crown Prince by the same artist. I have only seen plaster-casts.

## UNCERTAIN MEDALLISTS.

I have already given some medals, the attribution of which is doubtful, namely Nos. 15A, 67, 68, 171, but for the following I cannot even suggest an attribution.

235. King William I. of the Netherlands, 1829, on the settlement of boundaries between England and the United States.

*Obv.* — WILHELMVS I NEERLANDIAE REX  
LVX . M . DVX . His bust facing.

*Rev.* — Inscription within oaken wreath : AB ANGLIS  
ET AMERICANIS SEPTEMTRIONAL . DE  
TERMINO MOTO ARBITER VOCATUS  
1829.

1·65 ; struck ; Æ (M.B.). Æ (F.P.W.). Obverse figured, Pl. V.

This medal was designed by Prof. P. O. van der Chijs and executed probably in Germany. Owing to delay caused by the Belgian revolution, it was not issued till 1834. (Information from Mr. J. Schulman in Amersfoort.)

236. English assistance to Paris after the siege, 1871. .

*Obv.* — Legend in outer circle, LIBERTÉ · ÉGALITÉ .  
FRATERNITÉ . VIVE LA RÉPUBLIQUE.  
Legend in inner circle, RÉPUBLIQUE FRAN-  
CAISE . VIVE LA FRANCE. Head of the  
Republic to left. Signed, F. T. (for Frédéric  
Thouet, the issuer of this medal).

*Rev.* — Inscription, DON PATRIOTIQUE DE L'ANGLE-  
TERRE À LA FRANCE, &c.

2·7 inches ; struck ; white metal gilt (F.P.W.).



Several similar medals are described in *Médailles de 1870—1871*, by Ch. van Peteghem (Paris, 1889, p. 67). There exist also various tickets used in the distribution of the food provided by English charity. (See Van Peteghem, *op. cit.*, pp. 129, 130.)

237. English assistance to Paris after the siege, 1871.

*Obv.*—Arms of Paris.

*Rev.*—Inscription within oaken wreath: RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. LA VILLE DE PARIS À LA CITÉ DE LONDRES. TÉMOIGNAGE DE RECONNAISSANCE. FÉVRIER 1871. RAVITAILLEMENT DE PARIS.

2·75 inches; struck; *N* (Guildhall Library). Æ (F.P.W.). Described by Van Peteghem, *op. cit.* p. 66, No. 712.

On 19th October, 1871, Mons. Léon Say, prefect of the Seine, and Mons. Vautrain, president of the Municipal Council of Paris, delivered an address, and in person presented this medal in gold, together with a bronze model of the Hôtel de Ville of Paris, to the Corporation of the City of London, at a sitting of the Court of Common Council.

238. Buenos Ayres. Expedition of the English, 1806.

*Obv.*—LA VERDADERA FE. The Holy Family.

*Rev.*—DIVINAS Y HUMANAS LEYES RESPECTADAS, LIBERTAD PERSONAL Y PROPIEDAD ASEGURADAS, FRANCO COMERCIO Y EXTENDIDO, POR LA GRAN BRETAÑA PROTEGIDO. BUENOS AYRES EL 25 DE JUNIO 1806.

1·35; struck; white metal (M.B.).

General Beresford, on 27th June, 1806, landed with a body of troops from a British fleet, under command of Sir Home Popham, and obtained possession of the city of Buenos Ayres. A French emigrant, Liniers, however, collected an army from all parts of the country, with which, on 12th August, he assaulted the city and forced Beresford to surrender with his army, an event commemorated on medal No. 249. The reverse legend on the present medal appears to refer to some English declaration made after the English fleet arrived off Buenos Ayres (on the 24th June). The medal was probably distributed in Buenos Ayres to bring the English into favour.

239. English Volunteers received at Brussels, 1866.

*Obv.*—S.P.Q.B. The arms of Brussels, crowned, between branches of oak and laurel.

*Rev.*—RÉCEPTION DES TIREURS ÉTRANGERS  
A L'HÔTEL DE VILLE 11 . OCTOBRE 1866.

8·0 × 9·5 ; a small silver badge with loop for suspension.

This little badge was given by the Bourgmestre of Brussels to the foreign riflemen, who were so cordially received there in October, 1866. The return visit of the Belgian Volunteers to London took place in July, 1867.

240. P. S. Murphy of Montreal. Prize medal, 1874.

This medal is figured in Leroux *Le Médailleur du Canada*, Montreal (1888), p. 208, No. 1101. It was made in France, but refused, because the bust was not a good likeness.

241. Battle of Austerlitz, or the three Emperors, 1805.

Two large "clichés" are figured in the *Trésor*, Pl. LXX., Nos. 4 and 5, on which England is represented as a leopard watching the conflict.

242. Death of the Prince Imperial of France in the Zulu War, 1879.

Triangular plaque representing a bird of darkness covering with its wings the tombs of the four Napoleons. Van Peteghem, *op. cit.*, p. 138, No. 1520.

243. Sir Richard Wallace. Benevolence during the siege of Paris, 1870.

There are three medals with inscription on reverse :  
 "Sir Richard Wallace, noble cœur anglais a  
 donné pour établir une ambulance 300,000 f., et  
 400,000 f. aux pauvres pour avoir du chauffage  
 27 . décembre 1870."

These medals are described in *Médailles de 1870—1871*, by Ch. van Peteghem (Paris, 1889, p. 31, Nos. 283—285). Sir Richard Wallace (1818—1890) distinguished himself by his benevolence during the siege of Paris, and even the Communists respected him. His popularity is attested by the fact that a balloon which left Paris on 27th January, 1871, was named after him; this balloon is commemorated on jettons (Van Peteghem, *op. cit.*, p. 40, Nos. 416—417). In 1879 he founded the "Hertford British Hospital" in a suburb of Paris, and a boulevard in that neighbourhood now bears his name.

244. Franco-German and Carlist Wars, 1870—1874. Aid of English ladies to the sick and wounded.

*Obv.*—Lady attending a wounded man.

*Rev.*—Wreath and inscription: "Dedicated to the pious ladies of Britannia in commemoration of their noble devotion to the cause of the sick and wounded during the Franco-German and Spanish wars 1870 : 71 : 73 : 74."

2·0; struck; white metal. Ch. van Peteghem, *op. cit.*, p. 96, No. 1035.

245. Queen Victoria's visit to Belgium, 1843.

*Obv.*—LEOPOLD I LOUISE D' ORLEANS. Heads of the King and Queen of the Belgians, jugate to right, that of the King crowned with oak-leaves.

*Rev.*—Within wreath of roses and other flowers:—  
A LA REINE VICTORIA . 13 . SEPTEMB.  
1843. On the ribbon, with which the wreath is bound up, is the legend, ELLE EST SANS ÉPINE.

1·65; struck; Æ (F.P.W.). Compare medals Nos. 103—107 issued on the same occasion.

245A. Peace of Paris, 1814, and the Congress at Vienna.

*Obv.*—Inscription, with the names and dates of the victories of the Allies in 1813. Figure of Victory, facing, within a circle of fourteen laureate heads of the sovereigns and generals who took part against France.

*Rev.* — SIEGS UND FRIEDENS MÜNZE ZUM  
WIENER CONGRESS OCTOBER. 1814. And  
further inscription. A triumphal arch.

3·0; struck; white metal (Adolph Weyl, *Die Paul Henckel'sche Sammlung*, Berlin, 1876, No. 2192).

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

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ABRAMSON or ABRAHAMSON, Abraham, medallist at the Prussian Royal Mint. Born at Potsdam in 1754, died in 1811. His father, the medallist, Jakob Abram or Abraham (1723—1800), was for over fifty years in the employment of the Prussian Government. Many of Abrahamson's medals are mentioned in the *Teutsches Künstlerlexikon*, by J. G. Meusel, 1808.

246. Admiral Lord Nelson. His death at the Battle of Trafalgar, 1805.

*Obv.*—HORATIVS NELSON. His bust to right. Signed, ABRAMSON.

*Rev.*—FAMAM QVI TERMINAT ASTRIS. A rostrate column. In exergue, VINC. HISP. ET GALL. CLASS CECIDIT D. XXI OCT. MDCCCV.

1.55; struck; R (Messrs. Spink & Son).

ANDRIEU, Bertrand. Besides medals Nos. 1 and 2, medal No. 15A, must likewise be attributed to Andrieu. This medal, with the portrait of De Bosset is of too early date to be the work of Antoine Bovy, who was only born in 1803; the artist's signature is *AB*, which is a remarkably concise monogram of the Greek letters in Andrieu's name, **BEPTPANA ANΔPIE**. The medal was probably made shortly after the fall of Napoleon in 1815, when French

artists began to be much employed for medals relating to England. Andrieu's name appears as that of the medallist on the obverse of medals Nos. 248D and 248E.

BARRE, Désiré Albert, French medallist (1818—1878).

He was the son of the well-known medallist, J. J. Barre, and on his father's death, in 1855, succeeded him as *graveur général* at the Paris Mint. One medal by the younger Barre may be described as bearing some reference to England.

247. Emp. Napoleon III. International Exhibition of 1855 at Paris. Prize medal.

*Obv.*—NAPOLEON III EMPEREUR. Bare head of Napoleon to right. Signed, ALBERT BARRE.

*Rev.*—The Imperial Arms of France, surrounded by branches of palm and laurel and ribbon bearing the inscription :—EXPOSITION . UNIVERSELLE . AGRICULTURE . INDUSTRIE . BEAUX-ARTS . PARIS . 1855. Around the whole is a circle formed by twenty shields with the arms of various nations, that of England being first; the shields are chained to each other and to a compartment, destined for recipient's name, which completes the circle below.

2·4; struck; R (F.P.W.).

In the International Exhibition opened in 1855 at the "Palais de l'Industrie" in Paris, England ranked next to France in the number of articles exhibited.

BARRE, Jean Jacques. The following medals must be added.

246A, 246B. John Howard, the philanthropist. Two memorial medals, by J. J. Barre, dated 1828 and 1829, are described by Dr. H. R. Storer, *American Journal of Numismatics*, October, 1893, p. 38, Nos. 661, 662.

BOEHM, Sir J. Edgar, Bart., R.A. The following medal has been omitted.

247A. Queen Victoria, 1887. Official Jubilee Medal.

*Obv.*—VICTORIA REGINA ET IMPERATRIX. Her bust to left very similar to that on the "Jubilee" coins. Signed on the truncation, J. E. B.

*Rev.*—IN . COMMEMORATION . Female figure, representing the British Empire, seated, facing, on throne guarded by lions. On the right stand Industry and Agriculture; on the left, a group of three female figures impersonating Science, Arts, and Letters; Commerce is represented by Mercury reclining in front, and, facing him, sits the winged genius of Electricity and Steam. Above the central figure are garlands with the initials, V.R.I. supported by two winged figures representing the years 1837 and 1887. In the exergue are laurel branches with five shields marked, EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA, AMERICA, AUSTRALASIA. Signed, F.L., for Sir Frederick Leighton, Bart., P.R.A., who designed the reverse.

3·05; struck; *AR*, *Æ*. See *Seventeenth Annual Mint Report*, p. 21.

These are the official Jubilee medals which were struck at the Royal Mint. Those in gold are similar but smaller (diam. 2·3 inches), and have a corded border on reverse.

BONNARDEL, Pierre-Antoine-Hippolyte (1824—1856), French sculptor; pupil of Ramey and Dumont; second *prix de Rome* in 1847. His name appears

as designer on medal No. 70, and his model for it in bronze was exhibited at the Paris Salon of 1851.

BOVY, Jean François Antoine. Medal No. 15A, with the portrait of De Bosset, is the work of the French medallist Bertrand Andrieu. See under ANDRIEU in the ADDENDA.

BRICHAUT, Auguste, a member of the Royal Belgian Society of Numismatists, who "directed" certain medals, amongst which is the following:—

247B. J. West Wilson, of Gothenburg, 1883.

*Obv.*—EUREKA! A winged boy standing on globe with his arms raised towards the sun. In the field, owl perched on cornucopiæ. Signed A. BRICHAUT D<sup>r</sup> (direxit).

*Rev.*—Below a wreath, the inscription: A JOHN WEST WILSON DE GOTHEMBOURG SOUVENIR SYMPATHIQUE DE SES ADMIRATEURS LIÈGE LE 6 MAI 1883.

1·5; struck; Æ, R., N. *Rev. Belge de Numism.*, 1883, Pl. XII.

John West Wilson, the son of Mr. Thomas Wilson, of Hull, the founder of the "Wilson" line of steamers, was born in Hull, 8th October, 1816. At the age of twenty-eight he settled in Sweden and founded the well-known mercantile house of J. W. Wilson at Gothenburg. He died at Gothenburg, 24th May, 1889. Mr. J. W. Wilson was one of the founders of the Museum of Gothenburg, to which he contributed much, and bequeathed his fine collection of modern pictures and sculpture. On the occasion of his large gift towards the Numismatic collection of the Gothenburg Museum, the Royal Belgian Society of Numismatists, on the 6th May, 1883, elected him a



foreign associate of the Society. The above-described medal was "directed" by M. Auguste Brichaut, a member of the Society, and examples in gold, silver and copper were presented to Mr. Wilson. (Information from Mr. Gustavus Brusewitz, of Gothenburg, and from the *Rev. Belge de Numism.*, 1883).

CAQUÉ, Armand-Augustin. The following medals by Caqué must be added to those already described.

247c. The Crimean War, 1854.

*Obv.*—Busts, jugate to left, of Queen Victoria, Napoleon III., and the Sultan Abdul-Medjid. Signed CAQUÉ . F.

*Rev.*—Inscription within wreath:—A LA NOBLE, A LA PUISSANTE ET VICTORIEUSE ALLIANCE DE LA FRANCE DE L'ANGLETERRE ET DE LA TURQUIE 1854. Signed, MAS-SONET ÉDITEUR.

2·0; struck; Æ (F.P.W.).

247cc. French gold medal awarded to John Jones, captain of the English ship *Enterprise*, for helping French sailors in 1854.

COURIGUER. This artist was employed by the Court of Naples, and there is a large *cliché* medallion with the portrait of the Queen of Naples in 1820, signed by him; I cannot, however, find out what his initials were.

DÆGE, EDUARD, German historical painter; born at Berlin in 1805; studied at Berlin under Prof. Wach, and in Italy. Many of his paintings are on ecclesiastical subjects. In 1861 he became vice-director of the Berlin Academy. Died in 1883. His name appears as designer on medal No. 257.

DAVID D'ANGERS, Pierre-Jean. It is probable that the medallion No. 45, with the portrait of George Canning, was made in allusion to the Treaty of London, between Great Britain, Russia, and France, and to the death of Canning which followed so shortly afterwards. Both events are referred to on Galle's medal of Canning (No. 94). Canning was a powerful supporter of the Greek cause, and the Treaty of London, signed 6th July, 1827, was a great step towards Greek independence. David d'Angers himself was much interested in the whole question (*see* note on his medallion of Lord Byron, No. 44).

DÉLOYE, Gustave, contemporary French sculptor. Born at Sedan (Ardennes). Pupil of Jouffroy and Dantan.

247D. The Princess of Wales. Cast bronze portrait-medallion exhibited at the New Gallery, London, 1888, at the first summer exhibition, in a case of medals by this artist (No. 332 of the official catalogue). See also Salon, 1888 (No. 4783 of the official catalogue).

DESAIDE-ROQUELAY, of Paris, a publisher of medals, the father of M. Alphonse Desaide, the present publisher of medals in the Quai des Orfèvres, Paris.

248. Sebastopol taken by the Allies, 1855.

*Obv.* NAPOLEON III. EMPEREUR DES FRANÇAIS.  
Head of Napoleon III to left crowned with oak leaves. Signed DESAIDE-ROQUELAY F.

*Rev.* Trophy of arms with the flags of England, France, Turkey and Sardinia, with a shield in front bearing the inscription:—PRISE DE SÉBASTOPOL LE 8 SEPTEMBRE 1855; above the shield is a crown; below the shield, a Napoleonic Eagle holds two branches.

185; struck; Æ (F.P.W.).

DESFORGES, a medallist who worked in the first half of the present century.

248A. The Duke of Wellington (1815?)

*Obv.*—WELLINGTON GENERALISSIME. His bust in military uniform to left. Signed below DESFORGES F.

No reverse. Size 2·3; shell, struck on a thin plate of metal probably to serve as the top for a box; Æ (F.P.W.). This was probably struck after the peace of 1815.

DOMARD, Joseph François. The following medal is to be added to those already described.

248AA. The French Admiral De Rigny and the Battle of Navarino, 1827.

*Obv.*—Inscription, with dates of Admiral de Rigny's birth and death. His bare head to left. Signed, DOMARD. F.

*Rev.*—BATAILLE DE NAVARIN XX OCTOBRE MDCCCXXVII. Winged Victory, facing, standing on a ship. Signed, DOMARD.

2·05; struck; Æ (F.P.W.).

This medal was struck on the death of Admiral De Rigny, in 1835, and the dies of the medals belong to the French Government (*Administration des Beaux-Arts*).

DUBOIS, Fernand, and not Du Bois, is the name of the contemporary sculptor and medallist of Brussels, who made medals Nos. 84A and 84B. There is another contemporary sculptor of the same name at Brussels, whose signature, P. DUBOIS SC., appears on a Belgian medal of E. and A. Solway, 1886.

DUBOIS. The medals signed DUBOIS F. without initials (Nos. 85—88) are the work of Étienne Jacques Dubois, who obtained the second *grand prix de Rome* in 1809. He is the author of two Napoleonic medals on the crossing of the river Raab and the capture of the town of Raab in 1809, both signed, DUBOIS F. DENON D.

DURAND, Amédée. He may have been the medallist whose initials, A. D., appear on medals Nos. 67 and 68, for, besides being an “éditeur” of medals, he apparently also engraved dies himself.

FISCH, Ant. It is the reverse of medal No. 92B, with the date 1884, which is the work of this medallist; if not of this date, it is the work of the same medallist who made the obverse.

FISCHER, Ferdinand August, German sculptor and medallist. He studied in the Berlin Art Academy under Schadow, and was afterwards professor there. Born at Berlin, 1805, died there in 1866. The medals Nos. 128 and 258 were designed by him. His brother, Johann Karl Fischer (1802—1865) was a medallist of Berlin, and worked for some time at Loos' establishment there.

FÜRST, Moritz, a medallist of the first half of the nineteenth century, who was employed at the Mint of Philadelphia in the United States of America. He was born in 1782 near Pressburg, in Hungary, and studied in Vienna under J. N. Würth, and in Milan.

In 1807 he went to the United States of America, and in the following year was employed at the Mint in Philadelphia. (See William Dunlap, *History of the Arts of Design in the United States*, New York, 1834, vol. ii. p. 220. I am indebted for this reference to Dr. H. R. Storer.) In this paper on medals by foreign medallists I have thought it better to exclude medals by United States medallists, but have mentioned those of Fürst, because he was a Hungarian by birth. The other American medals of the nineteenth century which relate to England will probably be found described in American works.

248B. Queen Victoria. Coronation, 1838.

*Obv.*—VICTORIA DEI GRATIA BRITANNIARUM REGINA FID: DEF: Her draped bust to left. Signed, FURST F.

*Rev.*—ASCENDED THE THRONE 1838. Britannia armed seated to left holding trident and sprig of laurel. In front, a lion; behind is a recumbent figure of the river-god Thames. Signed F. F.

2.05; struck; Æ (F.P.W.).

248C and Series. Fürst also made a series of twenty-seven medals (size 2.5 inches) commemorating American successes during the war between England and the United States, 1812—1815. These medals will be found described in *A Description of the Medals of Washington; of National and Miscellaneous Medals*, by James Ross Snowden (Philadelphia, 1861, 4to, pp. 69 to 74, and 79 to 88). They were struck by special resolution of Congress, that of Major-General Alexander Macomb on the Battle of Plattsburg, 11th Sept., 1814, being of fair workmanship. There is also a smaller medal (2.25 inches) by

Fürst on Captain Perry's naval success on Lake Erie, 10th Sept., 1813 (Snowden, *op. cit.*, p. 97).

GATTEAUX, Jacques Edouard, "fils," French sculptor and medallist. He was the son of the medallist N. M. Gatteaux (*q. v.*), and was born at Paris in 1788. Pupil of his father and Moitte. *Prix de Rome* in 1809. Was made *Membre de l'Académie* in 1845. He died at Paris in 1881.

248D. Peace of Paris, 1814, and Restoration of the Bourbons.

*Obv.*—LVDOVICVS . XVIII FRANC . ET . NAV .  
 REX . His bare head to right. Signed on the truncation, ANDRIEU F.

*Rev.*—IMPERIA . LEGITIMA . FOEDERE . SANCITA .  
 Louis XVIII. and the four allied sovereigns stand about an altar, inscribed PACI ORBIS and ornamented with a device composed of two hands grasping each other. On the altar lies a partially unrolled document, towards which the five sovereigns stretch out a hand. Louis XVIII is represented in the centre with King George III and the Emperor Francis II of Austria on the right, and the Emperor Alexander I of Russia and King Frederick William III of Prussia on the left. In the exergue, XII . MAI .  
MDCCCXIV. Signed, E. GATTEAUX F.

200; struck; Æ (F.P.W.). A similar medal, but with a slightly different obverse, is described by Adolph Weyl in *Die Paul Henckel'sche Sammlung*, Berlin, 1876.

248E. Peace of Paris, 1815.

*Obv.*—Same as No. 248D.

*Rev.*—REGNIS . EVROPAE . CONCORDIA . STA-  
 BILIENDIS. Two armed female figures, representing France and the Allied Powers respec-

tively, stand facing each other, supporting the standards of France and the Allies, and a shield inscribed, GALLIA . ANGLIA . BORVSS . AVSTRIA . RVSSIA . SACRO FOEDERE IVNCTAE. In the background on the right is seen the fore-part of a horse. In the exergue, ACCESSIT . GALLIA . NOVEMB. . MDCCCXV. Signed, E. . GATTEAUX.

2.0; struck; Æ (F.P.W.).

GEERFS, Alexander. The medal No. 101A has the bare heads, not busts, of Sir Robert Peel and Turgot, jugate to left. Its diameter is 2.2 inches (Æ; F.P.W.). This medal, which was alluded to in *The Times* of 23rd Sept., 1856 (p. 5), was struck on the occasion of the International Free Trade Congress in Brussels, September, 1856, a congress brought about at the instance of the Belgian Association for Customs Reform.

GEERTS, Edouard-Louis, the medallist of Brussels, who made the medal No. 101c, was a pupil of the sculptor Van der Stappen. He died, aged forty-three, at Ixelles, 24th November, 1889.

GRANDE, R., contemporary South American medallist.

249. Buenos Ayres recaptured from the English, 1806. Memorial medal, 1893.

*Obv.*—POPHAM Y BERESFORD GENERALES BRITANICOS DE MAR Y TIERRA. Busts of Sir Home Popham and General Beresford, facing, with flags below, within wreath.

*Rev.*—EN CONMEMORACION DE LA GLORIOSA RECONQUISTA DE BUENOS AIRES. Within a wreath:—six stars, palm branches

and inscription : MDCCCVI 12 DE AGOSTO  
MDCCCXIII LA JUNTA DE NUMIS-  
MATICA AMERICANA. Signed R. GRANDE.

Oval, 2·4 by 2·0 inches; struck; Æ (London Numismatic Society).

For the historical incident referred to on this medal see under medal No. 238.

GRUEBER, H., a contemporary German medallist and die-sinker, living in London.

250. Queen Victoria. Jubilee on the 50th year of her reign. 1887.

*Obv.*—VICTORIA REG : 1837 . 1887. Her bust three-quarters to left. Signed H. GRUEBER LONDON.

No reverse. 3·0; shell struck in thin metal; Æ.

251. The Prince and Princess of Wales. Silver Wedding, 1888.

*Obv.*—TH. R. H. THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF WALES. Their busts, jugate to left. Below shields of arms between branches of laurel and oak. Signed, H. GRUEBER.

*Rev.*—Inscription within open wreath of roses, thistles and shamrock leaves :—IN COMMEMORATION OF THE SILVER WEDDING 10 MARCH 1888. Above inscription, the Crest and Motto of the Prince of Wales. Signed, H. GRUEBER. 31 KING STREET. LONDON. E.C.

1·35; struck; Æ (F.P.W.).

HART, Laurent-Joseph. The following medal must be added to those already described.

252. Conference held at London for giving Peace to Belgium, November, 1831.



*Obv.*—The crown of Belgium within circle of stars, outside which are the crowns of the five great powers of Europe arranged on a wreath. With the crowns are the names of the respective nations, BELGIQUE, FRANCE, ANGLETERRE, PRUSSE, AUTRICHE, RUSSIE. Signed HART F.

*Rev.*—Within a circle: PAIX ET AMITIÉ PERPÉTUELLE and a partly open scroll, on which is the date, XV . NOV . MDCCCXXXI . Outside the circle are the names of Leopold I, King of the Belgians, William IV, King of England, and the four other sovereigns.

1.6; struck; Æ (F.P.W.).

A conference of ministers of the five great powers was held at London, and the acceptance of twenty-four articles of pacification was decided on, 15th November, 1831.

On Hart's fine medal of the painter Rubens no mention is made of England, and it can therefore not be included in the English series like the following two medals.

JOUVENEL, Adolphe-Christian, Belgian medallist, an engraver to the King of the Belgians. Born at Lille, 1798, died at Brussels, 1867. He was a pupil of the sculptor Rude.

253—254. Commemorative portrait medals of the painters Rubens and Van Dyck with long inscription on the reverses. These form part of a national series of great men, by Jouvenel. Mention is made of England in the inscriptions.

1.85 inches; struck; Æ (London Num. Soc.).

JUNKER, J. C., a modern die-sinker.

254A.—Marriage of the Princess Royal of England with the Crown Prince of Prussia (afterwards the Emperor Frederick), 1858.

*Obv.*—PRINZ FR. WIL. VON PREUSSEN. His bust in uniform to right. Signed, J. C. JUNKER F.

*Rev.*—VICTORIA PR. ROIAL (sic?) OF ENGLAND. Her bust to left.

1·8; struck; white metal (Adolph Weyl, *op. cit.*, No. 2709).

KÜCHLER, Conrad Heinrich. In addition to those already described, the following, signed K, have been attributed to this medallist.

255. Trial of Queen Caroline, 1820.

*Obv.*—CAROLINA D : G. BRITT : REGINA. Her bust to left. Signed K.

*Rev.*—COUNT B. BERGAMI. His bare bust with head to right.

1·6; struck; Æ (M.B.). *Num. Chron.*, 1888, p. 66.

256. Count Bartolemo Bergami, 1820.

*Obv.*—As reverse of previous medal.

*Rev.*—Within wreath of laurel, united below by ornamented shield:—COURIER TO HER MAJESTY 1820.

1·6; struck; white metal (M.B.). *Num. Chron.*, 1888, p. 67.

The previous two medals refer to the reports circulated respecting Count Bergami's relations to Queen Caroline, reports which formed the grounds for the bill of divorce brought by George IV in 1820. The Queen was, however, acquitted. Count Bergami died in Italy in 1841. There are likewise two medals on the trial of Queen Caroline, having the same obverse as No. 255, but with different reverses. All four medals are probably too late to be by Küchler, though I do not know the precise year

of his death. The K probably stands for P. Kempson, of Birmingham, and the execution is not up to Küchler's standard.

KULLRICH, Wilhelm. On the reverse of medal No. 128 the Minerva-like figure, who receives the bride and bridegroom, has an eagle by her side and evidently was intended by the artist to represent Prussia. (See Ad. Weyl, *op. cit.* No. 2731.) The following medals by Kullrich must be added to those already described.

257. Marriage of the Princess Royal of England with the Crown Prince of Prussia (afterwards the Emperor Frederick), 1858.

*Obv.*—FRIEDR . WILH . PR . V . PR . VICTORIA  
PR . R . V . GR . BR . U . I. Their bare  
heads, jugate, to right. Signed W. KULLRICH  
A . V . FEC. (ad vivum fecit).

*Rev.*—The Prince and Princess kneeling facing each other, the former in the act of putting a ring on the latter's finger. Behind them stands an angel, facing, in an attitude of benediction. In the exergue are the two shields of arms with a scroll, on which is inscribed: XXV . JANUAR . MDCCCLVIII. Signed, E. DAEGE INV. W. KULLRICH F.

2.0; struck; R (F.P.W.).

Some specimens of this medal were presented by the Emperor to individuals of the Court.

258. The Crown Prince and Princess of Prussia. Birth of their eldest son (now the German Emperor, William II.), 1859.

*Obv.*—FR. WILH. PRINZ V. PREUSSEN . VICT.  
P. FR. W. V. PR. P.R.V.G.B.U.I. Their  
bare heads facing each other on an orna-  
mental tablet. Above, two cupids support

a crown. Below is the Prussian eagle with outspread wings. Signed G. LOOS DIR. A. FISCHER INV. E. STAUDIGEL FEC.

*Rev.*—FRIEDRICH WILHELM VICTOR ALBERT PRINZ V PREUSSEN GEBOREN D. 27 JANUAR 1859. Angel holding baby. Signed W. KULLRICH FEC.

2·1; struck; Æ (F.P.W.). Ad. Weyl, *op. cit.*, No. 2735.

LANTÉRI, Edouard, contemporary sculptor, born in Paris, 1848. Pupil of the French sculptors, Aimé Millet, Guillaume and Cavelier. M. Lantéri is now Instructor in Modelling at the National Art Training School, South Kensington. His cast portrait-medallions, Nos. 258A, 258c, and 258D, were cast in bronze at Mr. James Moore's Foundry, Thames Ditton.

258A. Sir J. Edgar Boehm, Bart., R.A.

*Obv.*—SIR EDGAR · J · BOEHM · BARONET · R · A · MDCCCLXXXI · SC. His clothed bust to right. Behind, in the field, a sculptor's mallet and chisel, with a sprig of laurel. Signed, ED · LANTÉRI.

No reverse. 4·6; cast; Æ (F.P.W.).

The profile on the above described medal was modelled shortly before Sir Edgar Boehm's death, in December, 1890.

258B. S. B. Bancroft, actor, 1889.

*Obv.*—S. B. BANCROFT MDCCCLXXXVIII. His clothed bust, nearly to right, with eye-glass at the right eye. Signed on the truncation, ED · LANTÉRI.

No reverse. 3·5; cast; Æ. *R.A. Exhib. Cat.*, 1890, No. 2105.

258c. B. Bertrand, the fencing master.

*Obv.*—B. BERTRAND MAITRE D'ARMES 1889.  
His clothed bust to left. Unsigned.

No reverse. 2·8; cast; Æ. *R.A. Exhib. Cat.*, 1890,  
No. 2109. A variety has the legend, B. BER-  
TRAND FENCING MASTER, without the date.

258d. Mrs. Adelaide M. Moore, 1893.

*Obv.* — M<sup>ME</sup> ADELAIDE : M : MOORE :  
MDCCCLXXXIII. Her clothed bust to  
left. Signed, "ED. Lanteri sc."

No reverse. 5·3; cast; Æ.

258e. George Morton, painter, Instructor in Painting at the  
National Art Training School, South Kensington, 1889.

*Obv.*—GEORGE MORTON : 1889. His bare head to  
left. Unsigned.

No reverse. 3·5; cast; Æ. *R.A. Exhib. Cat.*, 1890,  
No. 2110.

258f. Robert Glassby, sculptor, 1888.

*Obv.*—ROBERT : GLASSBY MDCCCLXXXVIII <sup>AS</sup>  
LII. His clothed bust to left. Signed,  $\mathfrak{L}$ .

No reverse. 4·0; cast; Æ (F.P.W.) *R.A. Exhib. Cat.*,  
1890, No. 2108.

258g. William Glassby, artist, son of Mr. Robert Glassby,  
1888.

*Obv.*—WILLIAM GLASSBY MDCCCLXXXVIII  
TATAT<sup>S</sup> 21. His clothed bust to left. Signed,  
 $\mathfrak{L}$ .

No reverse. 3·3; cast; Æ. *R.A. Exhib. Cat.*, 1890,  
No. 2107.

258h. Andreas Grass, sculptor, 1888.

*Obv.*—ANDREAS GRASS MDCCCLXXXVIII  
MARCH. Clothed bust to left. Unsigned.

No reverse. 2·8; cast; Æ. *R.A. Exhib. Cat.*, 1890,  
No. 2111.

2581. Sir Augustus Harris, 1890.

*Obv.*—AUGUSTUS HARRIS . PANTOMIME :  
OPERA : THEATRE ROYAL DRURY  
LANE : TRAGEDY : COMEDY. Clothed  
bust of Sir Augustus Harris to left. Signed,  
ED. LANTÉRI.

*Rev.*—Winged figure of Victory, standing, holding  
palm-branch and lyre. On the left, a Cupid is  
flying to left, holding banner, on which is  
inscribed, PALMAM QUI MERUIT FERAT.  
At the feet of the Victory are a laurel-branch  
and the masks of Tragedy and Comedy. In the  
background the sea is represented with a ship  
on it.

1·9; struck; *V*, *R*, *Æ*. This medal is sometimes pre-  
sented by Sir Augustus Harris to operatic and  
theatrical *artistes*. The struck medal was pro-  
duced from M. Lantéri's models, under the  
direction of Messrs. Heming and Co.

LECLERCQ, J., Belgian medallist.

259. Félix, Comte de Mérode, Belgian statesman. His letter  
to Lord Palmerston, 1838.

*Obv.*—FELIX COMTE DE MÉRODE RÉPRÉSEN-  
TANT BELGE. His bare head to left. Signed  
J. LECLERCQ F.

*Rev.*—Inscription: LES DIPLOMATES, &c., extract  
from a letter to Lord Palmerston, 7th June,  
1838.

2·0; struck; *Æ* (London Numism. Soc.).

LEGROS, Prof. Alphonse, was a pupil of M. Lecoq de  
Boisbaudran. His first work exhibited at the  
"Salon" was a painting, the portrait of his father,  
in 1857. The following medallions, Nos. 259A to  
2591, like those already mentioned, made during  
the years 1881 and 1882, are all cast in bronze, and

may be seen in the City of Manchester Art Gallery.  
Nos. 259B to 259K are all studies from models.

259A. Cardinal Manning. His clothed bust to left, with name. Unsigned. 4·5.

259B. Victor Surville. Clothed bust to left, with name. Unsigned. 3·9.

259C. Jacob Moro. Clothed bust to left, with name. Unsigned. 3·8.

259D. Nicolas Blacas. Clothed bust to left, with name. Unsigned. 4·0.

259E. Donato Capello. Clothed bust to left, with name. Unsigned. 4·8.

259F. Denis Urbain. Clothed bust to left, with name. Unsigned. 4·2.

259G. Jules Raud. Clothed bust to left, with name. Unsigned. 4·4.

259H. Gil de Mesa. Clothed bust to right, with name. Unsigned. 3·6.

259I. A young girl's head in high relief facing. No name. Unsigned. Cup-shaped medallion. 4·2.

259K and 259L. Besides the above, Professor Legros has made a similar cast bronze medallion with the portrait of a model, bearing the fancy name, "Marquis de Bedmar," and another medallion with the portrait of Mr. Constantine Ionides.

LIALEN, I., Russian medallist.

260. Sir James Wylie, Bart., physician. 1840.

*Obv.*—Bust to left with titles and artist's signature, the latter in Russian characters.

*Rev.*—Long inscription with wreath of laurel:—VIRO  
ILLUSTRIS. &c.

2.1; struck; Æ (R. W. Cochran Patrick in *Num. Chron.*,  
1888, p. 317).

Sir James Wylie was born in 1768. In 1798 he was appointed physician to the Imperial Court of Russia, and in 1812 became director of the medical department of the Minister of War. In 1814 he was appointed physician-in-ordinary to the Emperor Alexander I., and in that year was created a baronet by the Prince Regent of England at the Czar's request before leaving England. He died in 1854, when the title became extinct.

LINDBERG, Adolf, the medallist of medal No. 156A, is professor of drawing at the official school of art in Stockholm. The medal of Madame Lind-Goldschmidt was made for the Royal Academy of Music at Stockholm.

LINDENSCHMIT, Johann. This engraver of dies worked more as a seal-engraver than a medallist. His name should be familiar to all antiquaries on account of one of his sons, the late Dr. Ludwig Lindenschmit, Hon. F.S.A., to whose untiring energy the splendid collection illustrative of Teutonic antiquities at Mayence owes so much.

Loos, Daniel Friedrich. The following medal must be added to those already given.

261. Wellington and Blücher. Entry of the English and Prussians into Paris, 7th July, 1815.



The obverse of this medal is the same as No. 158, but the inscription on reverse is different. See *Trésor*, Pl. LXVI., No. 8. *Num. Chron.*, 1888, p. 77, No. 9.

Medal No. 157 of the Duke of Wellington forms one of a series of medals (size 1·1 inches) made by Loos in 1815 with portraits of commanders of the Allied Forces, including Blücher, York von Wartenburg, Gneisenau, Schwarzenberg, the Duke of Brunswick, and Barclay de Tolly. These, however, cannot properly be included in the British series in spite of the Scottish and English descent of Prince Barclay de Tolly and Count York von Wartenburg respectively.

Loos, Gottfried B. The medallic establishment which he founded now exists as the "Berlin Medallic Mint of L. Ostermann, formerly G. Loos." G. Loos himself died in 1843; consequently medals Nos. 127, 128, 175A, 175B, 209A, 258, were really "directed" by his successors, though the name G. LOOS is retained as the business name on the medals. Medal No. 215 is the only medal of the English series made at the establishment of G. Loos during the lifetime of G. Loos himself. There are medals with the portraits of G. Loos and of his father D. F. Loos made by the medallists C. Pfeuffer and Goetze respectively. According to the medal G. Loos was born in 1773, not 1774.

LOUÏZI, an Italian medallist who worked for Durand's series.

262. Pasquale de' Paoli, the Corsican patriot. Death at London, 1807.

*Obv.*—PASCHASIUS PAOLI. His clothed bust to left.  
Signed LOUIZI F.

*Rev.*—NATUS ROSLINO IN CORSICA AN .  
M.DCC.XX.VI. OBIIT INSULA MAJORIS—  
BRITANNIAE AN . M.DCCC.VII. Below,  
SERIES NUMISMATICA UNIVERSALIS  
VIRORUM ILLUSTRUM MDCCCXLIV .  
DURAND EDIDIT.

1.7; struck; Æ.

Pasquale, the son of Hiacinto de' Paoli, was born in Corsica, 1726. The Corsicans made him, in 1755, Captain-General of their forces and he succeeded in overthrowing the Genoese dominion in Corsica. In 1769 Corsica was subjected to France, but in 1794, with the assistance of Lord Hood, Paoli transferred the rule to Great Britain, and in the following year retired to London, where he resided till his death in 1807. He was buried in Westminster Abbey.

MADRASSI, Luca, sculptor, born in Italy, living in Paris, a pupil of Cavelier.

263. George Meredith, the poet and novelist. Portrait medallion cast in bronze (Salon, 1892).

264. Lord Ronald Gower, F.S.A., author of "The Life of Prince Rupert," and sculptor of the monument erected in 1888 to Shakespeare at Stratford-on-Avon. Portrait medallion, cast in bronze (Salon, 1892).

265. Lord Beaconsfield (1805—1881). Memorial portrait medallion, 1894.

266. Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone, 1894. Portrait medallion, 1894.

In conclusion it may avoid possible confusion, if I add a few words of explanation concerning modern medals as Nos. 8, 70, 175A, &c., where more than one name occurs in the "signature" of the same side. If the name of the publisher or director be placed on a medal, it properly appears without any word following the name, as in medals Nos. 132, 133, 187, or else followed by such words as EDIDIT, as in Durand's series, or DIR(EDIT) as on medals Nos. 8, 79, 215. When the designer's name appears it is followed by INV(ENIT), as on medals Nos. 70, 101c, 128, or by DES(IGNAVIT); when the design is "after" some work of a painter or sculptor, his name is often given, followed by PINXIT or some equivalent word; when the modeller is a different person to the designer or medallist, his name is sometimes added and followed by M., MOD., or the word S(CULPSIT), as on medals Nos. 38 and 175A; finally the name of the actual medallist or *graveur en médailles* may appear alone, but usually appears followed by the word F(ECIT) or sometimes by IN(CIDIT) or SCULP(SIT).

In some cases, as in that of Pistrucci, the medallist made the design and model as well as engraved the dies, but in recent times, owing to the reducing machine, the actual engraving of the dies has to a large extent become simply mechanical, and in such cases the modeller's name often appears followed by FECIT. In some respects this modern method is an advantage, as it enables many good artists to make medals, without obliging them to give up the great amount of time formerly necessary for the engraving of steel dies. Lastly, in the case of modern cast medals, the modeller is naturally considered the actual medallist, and the bronze-founder's name is often altogether omitted.

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F. PARKES WEBER.

## NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

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*Königliche Museen zu Berlin (Beschreibung der antiken Münzen)*. Vol. III., Part I. Italy.—Etruria to Calabria. Berlin, 1894.

The Berlin Museum is to be congratulated on the completion of another volume, the third, of its *Catalogue of Greek Coins*. The first volume of the series, which appeared in 1888, contained the coins of the Tauric Chersonesus, Sarmatia, Dacia, Pannonia, Mœsia, and Thrace; the second, which followed promptly in 1889, comprised the coinage of Paeonia, Macedon, and of the Macedonian Kings, down to, and including, Perdiccas III. These two volumes were compiled by Dr. A. von Sallet, the distinguished Director of the Berlin Coin-Cabinet. The present volume is by his learned colleague and assistant, Dr. H. Dressel. It consists of 815 pages of closely-packed descriptions of an enormous number of specimens, interspersed with frequent notes which add very considerably to the value of the work. The numerous cuts in the text (89 in number) are very carefully executed, as are also the 22 autotype plates at the end of the volume. Although these latter are twice as many as those in Vol. II., they are still far too scanty for the proper illustration of such a magnificent collection of coins as the Berlin Museum now possesses. They ought to be at least twice as numerous. In this respect the Berlin authorities might with advantage follow the example of the British Museum.

The omission in this volume of the column devoted to the indication of the source from which the coins were acquired, is a distinct improvement as a saving of valuable space; but we still miss chronological headings, which, even if not absolutely accurate, are of invaluable assistance to students of history who are not thoroughly expert in the difficult art of fixing for themselves the approximate dates of coins by their style; more

especially as, owing to the paucity of the illustrations, it is frequently impossible to form any opinion as to style, even from the most minute and careful descriptions.

To compare this work with the corresponding volume of the *British Museum Catalogue*, which appeared more than twenty years ago, and which was the first of the series, would be obviously very unfair to the latter, which is in all respects, and naturally, very deficient both in quantity and quality.

The *Revue Numismatique*, 1894, Part I., contains the following articles :—

1. REINACH (TH.). On the date of Pheidon. This is a very instructive and valuable contribution both to history and numismatics ; for both historians and numismatists have always been sorely puzzled how to reconcile the statement of Aristotle that Pheidon introduced coined money into Peloponnesus (which he struck at Aegina), on the one hand, with the fact that none of the Aeginetan coins can be assigned to an earlier date than the seventh century B.C. ; and, on the other hand, with the statement that Pheidon celebrated, in concert with the Pisatans, the eighth Olympiad in B.C. 748, at least a century before the earliest Aeginetan issues. The writer points out that Aristotle, who was aware that the Aeginetan coins were the earliest struck in Greece, must have been misled by an Argive tradition according to which the *δβελίσκοι*, dedicated by Pheidon in the temple of Hera, were placed there to commemorate the abolition of the old iron money and the introduction of the newly invented silver coins. M. Reinach adduces the strongest reasons for supposing that as a matter of fact Pheidon dedicated his *δβελίσκοι* as *official* standards of the original system inaugurated by him in the middle of the eighth century B.C. If this be so, we must abandon the theory that silver coins were first struck in Greece by Pheidon, although he is still to be credited with the introduction of the weight-standard according to which the earliest Aeginetan coins were struck about a hundred years after his death. The statement of Herodotus (vi. 127) that a son of Pheidon was one of the suitors for the hand of the daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicyon, *circ.* B.C. 600—570, is rightly dismissed by M. Reinach as an old wife's tale (*conte à dormir debout*).

2. BLANCHET (J. A.). On an archaic tetradrachm of Syracuse. This coin differs from all hitherto known specimens, in that it is without the female head in the centre of the square on the reverse. The incuse square on this coin is shallow, and divided by narrow lines into four quarters. I confess that I

am somewhat doubtful about the authenticity of this tetradrachm.

3. LA TOUR (H. DE). Gaulish coins collected in the district of the Forest of Compiègne. Important for the localisation of many uninscribed Gaulish types.

4. GENNEP (A. VAN). On a Merovingian gold Triens struck at Aosta. The obverse of this hitherto unpublished coin bears the inscription X. AV $\infty$  TA FIT, and the reverse MAXOMIO MONITARI, with the unexplained letters C—E in the field.

5. PROU (M.). On the erroneous use of the word "Fierton" to describe coin-weights. The author shows that this word properly signifies the quarter of the mark, just as the English word farthing, to which it is etymologically related, means the quarter of the penny.

6. VIENNE (M. DE). Historical *résumé* of the coinage of Spain. (Conclusion.)

7. BORDEAUX (P.). On the six-denier piece of Navarre struck in 1589 in the name of Henri IV. These base coins were decreed and destroyed in the following year. No specimens are now known to exist, but an engraving of the coin has been preserved in a decree of Henri IV printed at Tours in 1590.

8. CASANOVA (P.). On Arab leaden seals.

The part concludes with obituary notices of the two most distinguished numismatists whom the nineteenth century has produced—Waddington and Cunningham.

The unrivalled cabinet of Greek coins of Asia Minor collected by the former, during a period extending over more than forty years, consists of about 100 coins in gold, 1,500 in silver, and 5,000 in bronze, all well-chosen and valuable coins. It is to be hoped, for the honour of France, that the Government (if it is in their power) will not allow a collection of such supreme scientific importance to be dispersed by public auction. Our own Government secured a few years ago for the British Museum, by a special grant for the purpose, the most valuable portion of Sir Alexander Cunningham's collection, and the remainder of his coins has also now passed into the National Collection. If the French nation could secure the Waddington cabinet, the few thousand pounds which it would cost would be well spent. That Monsieur Waddington always intended his collection to go intact to the Bibliothèque after his death was well known to all his friends. In fact he has frequently told me that he selected his coins with the express object of supplying deficiencies in the National Collection. The acquisition of his unrivalled cabinet, intact, by the Bibliothèque, would on this

account alone be a wise step, as it contains hardly any duplicates of coins which that cabinet already possesses.

When M. Waddington left England last spring he had just completed in manuscript his great Corpus of all the known coins of Asia Minor, comprising not only those in his own cabinet, but every coin which had passed through his hands in all the great public and private collections of Europe. It is needless perhaps to insist upon the transcendent scientific value of this great work, the publication of which without delay is due to the memory of one of the most brilliant scholars and numismatists of our age. M. Waddington, on the occasion of his farewell visit to the British Museum, informed me that his catalogue was then quite complete and ready to be placed in the hands of the printer. The only question which remained to be settled was that of the illustrations. The historical commentary on the coins described in this first portion of his work will, alas! never see the light, although M. Waddington had got together copious notes for the purpose. We presume that the publication of the catalogue will soon be entrusted to the editorship of some competent French numismatist. This is a duty which France and his family owe to Europe, and we are confident that it will be fulfilled with as little delay as possible. *Bis dat qui cito dat.*

The posthumous work of the late Sir Alexander Cunningham, on the *Native Coinage of Mediæval India*, has been entrusted by Col. Allan Cunningham, his son and executor, to the able editorship of Mr. Rapson, who will bring it out almost immediately.

BARCLAY V. HEAD.

*Britomartis la soi-disant Europe sur le Platane de Gortyne*  
(*Revue Belge de Numismatique*, 1894), par J. N. Svoronos.

In this interesting paper M. Svoronos has at last given us his long-expected interpretation of the famous type of the coins of Gortyna, in Crete, the nymph seated on the trunk and amid the branches of an old tree, which is sometimes bare and sometimes clothed with foliage. On some specimens an eagle sits beside her on a branch of the tree, on others she is seen *in coïtu* with the eagle, after the manner of Leda with the swan, with the addition sometimes of a bull's head beside the trunk of the tree. The hitherto almost universally accepted explanation of these types has been that the nymph is Europa seated on the far-famed plane-tree of Gortyna, which even in winter never shed its leaves, and that the eagle is Zeus who,

according to Theophrastus and Pliny, accomplished his union with Europa either on (*ἐπὶ*) or under (*ὑπὸ*) the plane-tree, after carrying her off from Phœnicia to Crete on his back in the form of a bull. There can be no doubt that this interpretation of the Gortynian coin-types seems at first sight indisputable. The legend of the rape of Europa and the localisation of the union of the god with the nymph on or under the Gortynian plane-tree, was so renowned in antiquity, that its representation under various aspects on the coins of Gortyna suggests itself at once to the mind of the student of mythology when the coins of Gortyna are placed before him. On some of the coins of this town there cannot be the slightest doubt about the matter, for Europa is seen seated on a rock and caressing the bull as he approaches her, or actually riding on his back. The type of the nymph in the tree is certainly far less characteristic of the myth, as it has been handed down to us, and M. Svoronos has adduced a number of cogent arguments against the identification of this nymph or goddess with Europa. He points out, for instance, that the tree resembles an oak rather than a plane-tree, that it is frequently bare of leaves, and that the type also occurs on the coins attributed by him to the town of Tityros, or Tisyros, as well as on those of Gortyna. Following out these indications he cites a passage from the Alexandrian poet Callimachus (*Hymn to Artemis*, v. 189 *sqq.*), who tells how the Gortynian nymph Britomartis, or Dictynna, was pursued by Minos, and how she fled from his unwelcome embraces into thick groves of oak and craggy mountain paths, until, at last, driven to desperation, she leaped from a cliff into the sea, whence she was rescued by the nets (*δίκτυα*) of fishermen. Hence the surname Dictynna, under which she was worshipped not only on the Dictæan mountain at Tityros but in other parts of the island. Fully admitting, as I do, that M. Svoronos has pointed out several discrepancies between the coin-types and the story of Europa, I must still confess that I am not convinced by his arguments in favour of identifying the nymph in the tree with Britomartis, and of the eagle and bull's head with Minos. Granting that Minos may have metamorphosed himself, like Zeus, into an eagle or a bull, which metamorphosis is, by the way, nowhere related, we have still to face the difficulty of the willing consent with which the maiden welcomes his approaches. The very evident gratification of the nymph as she submits to the embraces of the eagle seems to be entirely foreign to the character of so chaste a goddess as Britomartis; unless, indeed, we are prepared to admit, with M. Svoronos, that the old Cretan form of the myth was very different from that which



has been handed down to us by Callimachus, in which case we may be also permitted to suppose that the Europa myth may have been also divergent in some respects from the version as related by Theophrastus and Pliny. The occurrence of the Gortynian type on coins with the inscription **ΣΟΡΥΜΕΤ** (= *Tíorupoi*) may be simply due to the imitation of the coin-types of one city by another for purely commercial reasons—a custom which was very prevalent in antiquity, and especially so in Crete.

*Les Monnaies grecques*, par Adrian Blanchet. Petite Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie. Paris, 1894.

This is a very beautifully got-up and useful little Guide to Greek Coins. It consists of a brightly-written and interesting outline sketch of the origin of the art of coining, of the organization of the mints among the ancients, of the rights of coinage, of coin-types and their modifications and developments, and of the growth, bloom, and *décadence* of art as exemplified on Greek coins; to which is appended a list of all the engravers' names which have been handed down to us.

In the chapter on art the author has adopted, with slight modifications, the divisions into epochs as given in my *Historia Numorum*, and in my *Guide to the Coins of the Ancients*. The least satisfactory portion of this, in other respects pretty and useful little work, are the twelve photographic plates, executed by the "glyptographic" process. The figures are much too faint both in outline and in shadow, so that it is somewhat difficult to make out the minuter and indistinct details both of type and lettering.

BARCLAY V. HEAD.

*The Copper, Tin, and Bronze Coinage, and Patterns for Coins of England, &c.* By H. Montagu, F.S.A. Quaritch, 1893. 2nd ed.

The fact that this work has passed so soon to a second edition is the best recommendation that it can have. In issuing this new edition the author has somewhat changed its form. The original work was in large octavo, and was published by Messrs. Rollin & Feuardent; the second edition is in ordinary octavo, and being published by Mr. Quaritch has been made to match in style and binding with other numismatic works issued by that publisher, viz., Hawkins's *Silver Coinage*, Kenyon's *Gold Coinage*, Atkins's *Colonial Coinage*, &c. The new edition of Mr. Montagu's work is not altogether a reprint

of the first one. Somewhat unexpectedly the author found it necessary to make amendments and additions, and, to use his own words, they are far more numerous than he had at the outset considered either probable or possible. As the original work received such full notices from the press, it is not necessary to give any further account of it, especially as it is now so well known to all collectors of English coins in this country. We need only say that if the work as first issued was considered good, then this second edition is better. In describing the various coins, Mr. Montagu always quotes some collection or collections where such pieces are to be found, such as the National Collection, his own, that of Mr. Hoblyn, &c. Since the publication of the first edition the Brice collection has been incorporated into that of the author, consequently under this heading alone numerous emendations had to be made.

H. A. GRUEBER.

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## MISCELLANEA.

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NOTE ON A GOLD COIN OF TAGHLAK SHAH (No. 242, British Museum, Sultans of Delhi). This coin, which has as its reverse legend al-Mutawakkal 'Ali Allah abu al-Muzaffar Taghlak Shah, was described as then new to me in the Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. xv. 1882; and attributed to Ghiyas ad-Din Tughlak I. (A.H. 720-725).

In 1881 the British Museum Catalogue was published giving the same attribution (p. 51, 242).

In 1885 (*Num. Chron.* p. 220), Mr. Gibbs described it as "an unpublished" one of Taghlak I.

In the Bengal Asiatic Journal 1889, p. 32, Mr. Hoernle figured it as "to the best of his knowledge unique or at least having never been noticed or published," and arguing from the fact of its bearing the title al-Mutawakkal 'Ali Allah, a name of the Egyptian Khalif who began to reign A.H. 763, and whose other name Abi 'Abdullah is found on a coin of Taghlak II., came to the conclusion that this must be one of Taghlak II. (A.H. 790-791).

Mr. Hoernle's view was generally accepted, and the ticket in the British Museum Cabinet was altered accordingly.

Neither of the above specimens had enough of the marginal legend to show the exact date or the mint name. But I have lately been shown another specimen, which was given to the late

Duke of Buckingham when Governor of Madras, and has so much of the margin : ضرب هذه السكه في ملك تلنگه \* \* \* *i.e.* whatever the rest of the date may be, some years before or after the date of Taghlak II., who reigned only a few months in A.H. 790 and 791.

Having a note that Talinga is a Mint of Taghlak I. I looked up thereference and found that in the Bengal Asiatic Journal 1875, p. 126, Mr. Delmerick describes one of this same variety with the full date خمس وعشرين وسبعماية and in the same Journal 1879, p. 179, Mr. C. J. Rodgers mentions another exactly similar to the one I have lately seen, of Talinga A.H. 774.

The attribution must therefore be to Taghlak I.; but it is curious that there should be on a coin of his as a title one of the names of the Egyptian Khalifs who reigned 40 years later, and whose other name, Abi 'Abdullah, is found on the coins of Taghlak II. his contemporary Sultan of Delhi; and it is not to our credit that so many of us overlooked the notices of previous writers.

O. CODRINGTON.

HALF AND QUARTER OBOLS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.—Common as are all the larger sizes of the silver coinage of Alexander the Great, it is well known that his obols are very scarce. Müller only catalogued eight varieties of them in his great, if somewhat ill-arranged, work.

That half-obols existed does not seem to have been known till Dr. Imhoof-Blumer published one in his well-known *Monnaies Grecques* only ten years ago. I have not seen any further varieties of them mentioned as appearing since that date.

But it has just come under my notice that there exist not only half-obols but also quarter-obols of the "Great Emathian Conqueror." Mixed with a few of his obols and a quantity of other small silver of the fourth century—mostly of Cilician *provenance*—there came to me the following minute coin, obviously a quarter-obol of the same coinage as the well-known obol and the very scarce half-obol.

*Obv.*—Head of Herakles in lion-skin to the right, as on all the coins of Alexander.

*Rev.*—Two clubs in reverse directions : between them  
ΑΛΕΞΑΝ -- : above upper club Δ in field.

The weight is 1.75 grains, somewhat light for a piece which is in very fair condition, and ought to weigh 2.5 grains at least

to correspond to the average of Alexander's obols. But it is well known that these very small denominations are often far too light in proportion to their multiples.

The type of the two clubs seems new for Alexander; it somewhat reminds me of the club in conjunction with a Herakles-type at Thebes in the copper coinage of the period, 370—340. (See Head's *Coins of Boeotia*, p. 246.)

Almost at the same time that I acquired this new type and value of the coinage of Alexander, there came to me from another source two of the very scarce half-obols. One is exactly the type described by Imhoof-Blumer in his *Monnaies Grecques*, No. 57, p. 122. The other, however, differs somewhat from the known variety, and may be worth describing. It is—

*Obv.*—Head of Herakles to right in short lion-skin, not tied under the neck in the usual fashion.

*Rev.*—Bow in case and club: between them **ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔ**: below, in field, the monogram **ΑΡ**


The weight is exactly 5 grains, and the coin is in very perfect condition. The monogram is known on obols and on large pieces also. Müller knew it, and put it down as the mark of a town unknown in his European section of Alexander's coins. But no doubt it forms some magistrate's name, perhaps Demetrius, and has no reference to any mint.

The company in which both half and quarter obols came to me suggests a Syrian or Cilician origin. They arrived from the Levant in company with a quantity of small coins of Tarsus, a few of Tyre and Cyprus, six or eight sigli of the later type, and one or two obols or diobols of Miletus, Samos, and Cyzicus—the last much worn and in bad condition.

I do not remember to have seen it noticed in print that a very large proportion of the obols (as also of the triobols) of Alexander the Great bear the Seleucid anchor and very complicated monograms composed of numerous letters. May we conclude that these small pieces were more used in the Syrian Cilician districts than elsewhere, and that the coinage of the still smaller half and quarter obols in the same region, points to the fact that they were required by a population accustomed to use the very minute currency of Tarsus and its neighbourhood—the coins I mean are those with the seated Zeus Tarsios and the heads of Hermes and Pallas? Some of the latter, like the little Alexander which I have noticed above, only weigh 1.75 grains.

C. W. C. OMAN.

AN UNPUBLISHED MEDAL OF HENRIETTA MARIA, QUEEN OF CHARLES I.—The following is a description of a medal bearing the portrait of Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV of France, and wife of Charles I. It belongs to Mr. C. J. Spence, of North Shields, who has kindly given me permission to bring it under the notice of members of the Numismatic Society.

*Obv.*—Bust facing, head in profile to left; her hair, in curls in front, is collected into a large flat knot at the back of the head, and bound with string of pearls. She wears pearl earring, also necklet of pearls, and a large chain of the same jewels over her shoulders. Her dress is embroidered and open in front, showing a rich bodice. Over her shoulders falls a deep lace collar.  
*Leg.* HENRIETTE MAR. FILLE DE FRANCE. Below 1624 

No reverse.

Oval. 2·1 × 1·7 inches. Æ.

This interesting medal presents us with a younger portrait of Henrietta Maria than any previously known on medals. The date 1624 shows that it was made before her marriage, and probably before her betrothal to Charles I. Her dress differs from that on any of her marriage medalets, on which she is always represented wearing a high lace ruff, and on which her hair is more elaborately treated. On this medal the portrait is singularly pleasing, the profile showing remarkably refined features, and the simple treatment of the hair adds to their beauty. The crisp short curls over the forehead contrast well with the otherwise simple arrangement of the hair, which is represented by fine wavy lines, and is collected into a simple knot at the back. Later in life Henrietta appears to have worn her hair in loose curls falling over the shoulders, and the curls in front nearly concealed her forehead. Though unsigned, it is most probable that the medal was made by Nicholas Briot, whose work it generally resembles. Briot came to England in 1625; previous to which date he had acted as one of the chief engravers to the Royal Mint at Paris. I have examined the portraits of Henrietta Maria in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, but do not find any which represent her between the period of actual infancy and her marriage. Mr. Spence, however, informs me that he has met with two portraits, which are young enough to have the same turn of profile. One is in the Stafford House collection, and the other a miniature in the Rijks Museum at Amsterdam.

H. A. GRUEBER.

## VI.

### CONTRIBUTIONS TO SICILIAN NUMISMATICS.

(See Plates VI.—VIII.)

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#### I.—ON THE RECENT DISCOVERY OF A DÂMARETEION FROM A NEW DIE.

THE number of known specimens of the Dâmareteion is so small, and the place which this early "Medallion" of Syracuse occupies in the history of numismatic art is so unique, that archæologists may be glad to have an opportunity of studying a fresh example which was discovered last year at Lentini, in Sicily. The place of discovery is not without interest, since from the parallel reverse of a contemporary tetradrachm of Leontinoi with the same *passant* lion below it, it is evident that, about the date when the Dâmareteion was struck, the citizens of Leontinoi were in close alliance with the Syracusans under Gelôn. Leontinoi at a somewhat earlier date, under its tyrant Ænesidêmos, had been in a state of subject alliance with Hippokratês of Gela.<sup>1</sup> It looks as if Gelôn, when he took over Hippokratês' dominion, had been able to prolong the suzerain relation with the Leontines.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Herod. vii. 154; Pausanias v. 22, 7; and *cf.* Freeman, *Sicily*, ii. 106.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 214.

A comparison of the present coin (Pl. VI., 2), which weighs 667 grs., with the specimen in the British Museum at once revealed the fact that it was on both sides from a different die. This phenomenon suggested the desirability of comparing all the known examples of the Dâmareteion.

Of these I have indications, in all, of ten specimens. One is in the Hunter Museum at Glasgow;<sup>3</sup> another, a brilliant specimen formerly in the Fox collection, is in the Museum at Berlin; a third is in the De Luynes collection, in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris; and a fourth was bought by M. Hoffmann, at the Bompois sale, and had formerly been in the Collection Dupré;<sup>4</sup> a fifth, which I cannot now trace, is engraved in the *Monumenti inediti* as forming part of the De Luynes Collection<sup>5</sup>; a sixth, also formerly in the Dupré collection, passed into that of Sir Edward Bunbury; a seventh is in the Imperial Cabinet at Vienna.<sup>6</sup> The specimen in the British Museum

<sup>3</sup> *Museum Hunterianum*, Pl. 52, x.

<sup>4</sup> *Catalogue Ferdinand Bompois* (1882), Pl. 2, 477, and p. 37. This coin is also engraved by the Duc de Luynes, *Choix des Médailles Grecques*, Pl. VIII. 1. It looks as if it had once formed part of the Duke's collection, but this is not expressly stated; and, on the other hand, the coin is from a different die from that engraved as his in the *Monumenti inediti*, I. Tav. XIX. 1. Though badly preserved, it was sold, in 1882, for 3,000 fr. at the Bompois sale.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. i., Tav. XIX. 1. The specimen at present preserved in the De Luynes collection, in the Cabinet des Médailles, is of a die different both from this and from that engraved by him in his *Choix de Médailles Grecques* (Pl. VIII. 1), which afterwards passed into the Dupré collection (see above note <sup>4</sup>). M. Ferdinand Bompois, in his remarks in his catalogue, p. 47, on the number of Dâmareteia known to him, says that two specimens then existed in the French Cabinet, one De Luynes, and one in the old collection. I am informed, however, by M. Adrien Blanchet, that the only specimen possessed by the Cabinet de France is that of the De Luynes collection.

<sup>6</sup> I have to thank Dr. Friedrich Kenner, of the Imperial

and the Lentini coin, now in my own collection, make up the eighth and ninth, and a tenth, badly preserved, is said to be in private hands in Sicily.

The types represented are as follows :

*Obverse.*

Type A. Legend, **ΞΥ ΡΑ ΚΟΞ ΙΟΝ**. B. M.; Hunter. Coupled with reverse type A.

Type B. **ΞΥ ΡΑ ΚΟΞ ΙΟΝ**. N more slanting, and letters somewhat differently placed, the K, for instance, being nearer the dolphin's tail. A peculiarity of the head of this die is the appearance of the outline of the further eyebrow. Berlin; Paris; with reverse type A. (See Pl. VI., 1, Berlin.)

Type C. **ΞΥ ΡΑΚ ΟΞ ΙΟΝ**. K as often on tetradrachms. The tuft of hair on this die is longer and more pendent. A. J. E. (from Lentini). Coupled with reverse type C. (Pl. VI., 2.)

Type D. **ΞΥ ΡΑΚ [Ο] ΞΙΟ Ν**. The O is almost obliterated owing to a flaw in the die. The lowest dolphin is quite near the neck, leaving no space for letters above it. In this respect this type differs from all the varieties, upon each of which the letters **ΙΟΝ** are inserted between the neck and dolphin. Vienna;<sup>7</sup> Dupré-Bompois. Coupled with reverse type B.

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Cabinet at Vienna; Dr. Von Sallet, of that of Berlin; M. Babelon, of the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris; and Dr. John Young, Curator of the Hunter Museum at Glasgow, for their kindness in supplying me with casts of the specimens under their several charges.

<sup>7</sup> Dr. Friedrich Kenner, who kindly supplied me with a cast of the specimen in the Imperial Cabinet at Vienna, was inclined to think that this coin had been overstruck on another. For myself I prefer to attribute the marks near the dolphin (which led him to suggest this explanation) to flaws in the die. They recur on the Dupré-Bompois specimen from the same die. The coin is unfortunately badly preserved.



*Reverse.*

Type A. Niké holding wreath above hindmost horse's head. Heads of first and second horse slanting from one another at an angle of 45 degrees. Seven front legs traceable and six hind legs; two tails. B. M. and Hunter, with obverse A; Paris and Berlin, with obverse B. (See Pl. VI., 1.)

Type B. Niké in a more upright position, less stiff and with more flowing drapery. The head of the second horse somewhat more raised than in type A. Seven front legs and seven hind legs traceable; two tails. Vienna; and perhaps Dupré-Bompois. Coupled with obverse D.

Type C. Niké actually placing wreath on forehead of hindmost horse. Nose and forehead of two front horses parallel, as on earlier class of tetradrachms. Six forelegs traceable and five hind legs; three tails, one between horses' legs. A. J. E. (from Lentini) with obverse type C. (Pl. VI., 2.)

The comparisons above instituted lead to the remarkable conclusion that, among the few known examples of this historic piece, no less than four obverse and three reverse dies are represented.

Amongst these the Lentini specimen (Pl. VI. fig. 2), which is on both sides from hitherto unknown dies, shows certain archaic characteristics, such as the parallel arrangement of the frontal lines of the two foremost horses and the fewer number of legs indicated. On the other hand, the reverse of the type exhibited by the Vienna coin—and apparently the Dupré-Bompois specimen—seems somewhat more advanced than the other. The Niké, with its more upright position and more flowing lines of drapery, shows a nearer approach to that which appears above the horses on the tetradrachm of Hierôn's time, with the "pistrix" below. The greater elevation of the head of the second horse and the increased number of legs



2



DĀMARETEIA.



3



4



5



6



COINS FROM THE VILLABATE HOARD.

AUTOTYPE.

SICILIAN NUMISMATICS.



distinguished, may also be regarded as later characteristics. These differences, however, are, after all, very slight, and when taken in connexion with the ups and downs of art on the tetradrachm coinage of the same period do not necessarily imply any real discrepancy of date. It is evident, for example, that the figure of Nikê on the tetradrachm coinage of a slightly earlier date than the Dâmareteion, and on which the more archaic epigraphy **ΞΥΡΑΦΟΞΙΩΝ** is still preserved, is far more freely executed than those of a considerably later date. The general style of the engraving is so uniform on all the existing varieties of the Dâmareteion that we must continue to regard them as having been struck contemporaneously.

The fact that the Dâmareteion issue was sufficiently abundant to require several dies—and we may reasonably infer that future discoveries will increase their number—has an important bearing on the historic records that have been preserved regarding this exceptional coinage.

According to Diodôros,<sup>8</sup> the Dâmareteion was struck out of the proceeds of the gold wreath, valued at 100 talents, presented by the Carthaginians to Dâmaretiâ, the consort of Gelôn, for her good offices in procuring them acceptable conditions of peace after their great defeat at Himera in 480 B.C. In my *Syracusan Medallions* I have already endeavoured to combat Hultsch's idea that the talents referred to were simply the small Attic talents of six gold drachmæ, and that consequently the total number

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<sup>8</sup> Lib. xi. c. 26. The account of Diodôros is to be unhesitatingly preferred to the version of the later grammarians Hêsyehios (s. v. *Δημαρέτιον*) and Pollux (*Onomasticon*, lib. ix. 85). See *Syracusan Medallions*, by the present writer, p. 123, *seqq.*

of Dâmareteia struck could not have exceeded seven hundred and eighty. I there suggested that the talents referred to by Diodóros were Sicilian gold talents of 120 gold litræ, calculated, that is, on the same system as the Sicilian silver talents; and that the silver value of the wreath would therefore have amounted to 3,600 pentê-kontalitra. It will, I think, be admitted that the existence of several dies makes the larger figure the more probable of the two, but we may well ask ourselves whether even this larger figure is sufficient to explain the number of dies used.

In the work already referred to attention has been called to the parallelism existing between the gold tripod dedicated by Gelôn and his brothers as a thank-offering to Apollo in his Delphian Temenos, and these commemorative coins on which, as beneath the head of the same God on the contemporary coinage of Leontinoi, there appears his symbolic animal, a *guardant* lion. It is further to be observed that in the dedicatory verses by Simonidês, inscribed on the Delphian tripod, the whole amount of the prize-money, from a tenth part of the tithe of which the tripod itself was erected, is described as "Dâmaretian gold." It looks, then, as if, in addition to the value of the wreath itself, the share of the Carthaginian loot received by Gelôn and his brothers, with the exception of the tenth part reserved for the votive tripod, may have been devoted to the coinage of the Dâmareteia.

The value of the gold tripod, according to the above reckoning of the Sicilian gold talent as 120 gold litræ, was 1,220 gold drachmæ. The amount of prize-money *ex hypothesi* devoted to the special coinage would have been nine times that amount, or 10,980 gold drachmæ. Taking the proportion of gold to silver at 15 to 1, this

would give us 164,700 silver drachmæ, or 16,470 dekadrachms or pentêkontalitra. If we now add to this the value of the wreath, estimated above at 3,600 pentêkontalitra, the total number of Dâmareteia struck would have been 20,070. In view of the number of dies known, this will not seem to be an excessive estimate. It must indeed be borne in mind that tetradrachms were also struck of the same type as the Dâmareteion,<sup>9</sup> and that these too ought certainly to be regarded as having formed part of a votive or commemorative coinage. These tetradrachms are also of great rarity.

## II.—THE PLACE OF THE DÂMARETEION IN THE SYRACUSAN SERIES.

In connection with the preceding paper a few words on the genesis of the principal type of the Dâmareteion may not be out of place. The style of the head stands in very close relation to a fine type of the immediately preceding period (Pl. VI., fig. 4),<sup>10</sup> on which is represented a female head with falling hair. But the two types are linked by a still more remarkable feature—the faintly indicated circle which in both cases surrounds the head like a halo.

The origin of this ring in the case of the tetradrachm is not far to seek. The beautiful type in question, as may be seen from a comparison of the head with the falling beaded tresses, stands in a very close relation to the

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<sup>9</sup> Head, *Coinage of Syracuse*, Pl. I. 11.

<sup>10</sup> From the Villabate Hoard. See, too, Head, *Coinage of Syracuse*, Pl. I. 3. This coin is perhaps the earliest of the new series on the reverse of which Nikê is seen crowning the horses, and may therefore date from about the year 488 B.C., when Gelôn won the chariot race at Olympia (see *op. cit.*, p. 7).

earlier Syracusan coinage on which a similar head is seen within a round incuse field on the reverse (Pl. VI., fig. 3). The circle that surrounds the head on the tetradrachm, as later on the Dâmareteion, thus explains itself. It is the survival of the circular margin enclosing the earlier incuse type, partly, no doubt, preserved because it served a useful purpose in defining the outlines of the head. Traces of similar rings are in fact visible round the heads on some Roman coins, the die-sinker in this case having failed to erase his compass mark; and evidence of a similar procedure has been found on the faces of archaic Greek statues. In the present instance, however, the ring is *designedly* left as the equivalent of the circular margin of the incuse types. It is, in fact, a piece of artistic "survival."

But this evolution leads us a step further. On the archaic coins in question the central circle is surrounded with the four windmill-like depressions so usual on the early incuse coinage. Of these, as a rule, the corners only are well preserved, giving the appearance of the limb of a swastika running out from a central circle. There can, I think, be little doubt that the same conservative instinct that led the more advanced engraver to preserve a reminiscence of the round incuse field, led him also to adhere to the quadruple arrangement of its surroundings. Four dolphins were introduced, at first in a highly symmetrical fashion,<sup>11</sup> answering, with the necessary allowance of curvature, to the limbs of the swastika. In this way the Dâmareteion, standing on the borders of the more archaic period of Syracusan monetary art, pre-

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<sup>11</sup> See, for instance, the types from the Villabate hoard, Pl. VI., figs. 4, 5, 6.

serves a double record of the earlier incuse coinage. What is now the principal side of the coin is at the same time marked as having been originally the reverse.

The parallelism between the Dâmareteion and the beautiful early type (Pl. VI., fig. 3) with the legend **ΞΥΡΑΡΘΕΙΟΝ** above referred to, is not by any means confined to the appearance in both cases of the circle round the head. The style of the head is strikingly similar on the two coins, though the exquisite modelling of the archaic features as seen upon the earlier die may be even thought to surpass that of the celebrated "medallion," and recalls some of the finest heads of the præ-Persian figures discovered on the Akropolis at Athens. To me, however, this earlier coin and the obverse of the Dâmareteion and its contemporary tetradrachm type seem to be by the same artist, though the superiority of the Nikê who, in the first-named example, steps so lightly on to the yoke of the horses, to that of the later designs is so great, that there is some difficulty in recognising the same hand upon the reverse types.

Be this as it may, the approximation of style and design between the Dâmareteion and this earlier piece is very noteworthy, and agrees with certain chronological data derived from other sources. The early non-incuse tetradrachm type, signalised by the first appearance of the Nikê above the horses, has been reasonably brought into connection with Gelôn's victory in the chariot-race at Olympia in 488 B.C.<sup>12</sup> The Dâmareteion was issued in 479; and this interval of nearly ten years is about what is required for the development in style perceptible

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<sup>12</sup> Poole, *Trans. R.S. Lit. x.*, Pt. 3, N.S.; and *cf.* Gardner, "Sicilian Studies," *Num. Chron.*, 1876, p. 7.



on it. Our next landmark is the coinage of Hierôn with the "pistrîx," in which Dr. Head has recognised a record of his naval victory over the Etruscans off Cumæ in 472 B.C.

But the fixed chronological points thus indicated suggest a real numismatic puzzle. If the main monetary types of Gelôn's reign, as of that of his successor, are thus accounted for, where are we to place the more ordinary Syracusan types of the first half of the fifth century, which form an overwhelming proportion of the currency?<sup>13</sup> These types are referred by Dr. Head to Gelôn's reign, and there is no good reason for questioning this attribution. Only, how are they to be fitted in to the series? Many of them at first sight seem much more archaic than the Dâmareteion, and the number of existing varieties would naturally lead us to infer that their dates of issue extended over a considerable period of years.

But a closer study will serve to modify these conclusions. The Dâmareteion, as we have seen, fits on immediately to the coinage on which the  $\Phi$  of the archaic epigraphy is still preserved. But of the common types in question not one exhibits this early characteristic, nor do any of them show the ring surrounding the head, as seen on the early non-incuse issues. On the other hand, when we come to examine them in detail we find that the bulk of them display exactly the same fashion with regard to the binding of the back hair as is seen on the Dâmareteion, and as that fashion was perpetually changing, there is here at least an index of comparative contemporaneity. The real point in which they seriously differ is in the style of execution, which is comparatively rough, and

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<sup>13</sup> See Head, *Coinage of Syracuse*, Pl. I.

even barbarous. They thus present the appearance of being more archaic than they really are.

The conclusion which I venture to draw from these phenomena is that, in addition to the special votive issue which commemorated the great victory over the Carthaginians, representing the tithes of the spoil that fell to the share of Gelôn and his family, the huge booty then acquired by the Syracusan State or private individuals was largely converted into silver currency. As to the extent of the loot, reckoned in gold talents, the dedicatory inscription of Simonides inscribed on the Delphian tripod gives us a basis of calculation. It was set up out of a tenth of the tithe of the spoil—in other words, the hundredth part of the spoil—that fell to Gelôn and his three brothers. The gold tripod weighed, as we have seen, 1,220 gold drachmæ, which raises the value of the whole share that fell to the Syracusan princes to 122,000 gold drachmæ. From this we may infer that the total amount divided amongst the Syracusans and their allies must have amounted to a much larger sum.

A wholesale coinage, such as Syracuse had never before seen nor was ever to see again, was the result of the large influx of specie. But one consequence of the vast scale on which this new coinage seems to have taken place was that the ordinary machinery of mintage was necessarily found insufficient. For the special votive coinage the services of the best living monetary artists would naturally be employed. But the number of new dies simultaneously required for the ordinary coinage now issued *en masse* made it necessary to call in die-sinkers, or even perhaps apprentices of such, of the most second- or third-rate qualification. The result was what can be only described as a wholesale artistic debasement of the

Syracusan coinage ; while, on the other hand, the currency attained a volume hitherto unprecedented in Sicily, or perhaps in the Hellenic world.

The limits of date are here so absolute that no other hypothesis but that of a wholesale coinage such as that suggested can explain the phenomena with which we have to deal. And this result has a great interest even outside the field of numismatics in the side-light it throws on the chronology of Greek artistic types. The falling off from the types of the immediately preceding years and the disparity with the contemporary Dâmareteian coinage is most striking. In particular the Victories above the horses are in many cases mere scarecrows, immeasurably inferior to the beautiful designs of the artist who executed the first non-incuse dies in 488 B.C. What at first sight appears more archaic in this case is simply rude. It is possible even that when, as in some examples, we have to deal with a style of coiffure which seems earlier than that of the Dâmareteion, it should be accounted for by the old-fashioned notions of individual engravers, who in this respect were as little up to date as in their artistic training.

It is probable that some at least of the numerous dies now executed remained in use for many years. This, indeed, seems to be shown by the contents of a recent find at Villabate, near Palermo, to be described in the succeeding section. This hoard, as I hope to show, was deposited about 450 B.C. But in it, side by side with the coins of Hierôn, were numerous specimens of the rough earlier class in a condition so brilliant that it is impossible to suppose that they had been struck many years when the hoard was withdrawn from circulation. Others, again, of identical types had been evidently some time in circulation.

III.—ON A HOARD OF ARCHAIC AND TRANSITIONAL  
SICILIAN COINS RECENTLY FOUND AT VILLABATE,  
NEAR PALERMO.

The detailed accounts of Sicilian hoards are still so scanty, that the following description of a recent find of early silver pieces made in the neighbourhood of Palermo may not be without interest. The spot where the coins were discovered is a large quarry near the village of Villabate, which lies about five kilomètres distant to the east of Palermo. The coins were contained in a "rustic" vase, and were immediately divided among four peasants, who were working together at the time. They consisted exclusively of tetradrachms dating from the archaic and transitional periods, and belonging to Syracuse, Gela, Leontinoi, Akragas, Himera, and Messana, with a single specimen from Rhêgion. It is worthy of remark that this is the third hoard of similar composition that has been found on this spot during recent years.

The site itself is of some strategic importance, lying in a dominant position on a line of pass that leads from the south-western parts of the island into the rich valley in which Palermo stands, and it is possible, therefore, that the series of contemporary deposits may connect itself with a definite historic event. About two hundred and fifty coins are said to have been found in all. Some of these passed into the hands of dealers and local collectors, and a small selection was acquired by Professor Salinas for the museum at Palermo, who kindly allowed me to look through them. Another larger selection including some coins of special interest fell to the share of the Cav. Ignazio Virzi, to whom my warmest thanks are due for

placing them at my disposal. In all, about one hundred and forty-seven pieces passed through my hands,<sup>14</sup> and the summary description of these that I have thus been enabled to draw up will give a fair idea of the composition of the whole deposit.

## VILLABATE HOARD.

## SYRACUSE.

- |   | No. of Coins. |
|---|---------------|
| 1. <i>Obv.</i> — $\Sigma$ VRA. Male charioteer in quadriga to r.  |               |
| <i>Rev.</i> —Female head in incuse circle within quartered square . . . . .   | 2             |
| (B. M. Cat., No. 1.)  |               |
| 2. <i>Obv.</i> — $\Sigma$ VRA $\Phi$ $\Sigma$ ION Same.   |               |
| <i>Rev.</i> —Same . . . . .   | 1             |
| (Head, <i>Coinage of Syracuse</i> , Pl. I. 1. B. M. Cat., No. 2.)<br>(Pl. VI., 3.)  |               |
| 3. <i>Obv.</i> — $\Sigma$ VRA $\Phi$ $\Sigma$ ION. Diademed female head with stephanê r.; beaded hair falling about neck; within linear circle. Four dolphins round.                            |               |
| <i>Rev.</i> —Male charioteer in quadriga r. Winged Nikê alighting on yoke. . . . .  | 1             |
| (Head, <i>Coinage of Syracuse</i> , Pl. I. 3. B. M. Cat., No. 4.)<br>(Pl. VI., 4.)  |               |
| 4. <i>Obv.</i> — $\Sigma$ VR A $\Phi$ $\Sigma$ I ON. Female head to l. with globular earring and beaded hair, circled above by a fillet or diadem, falling about the neck. Four dolphins round. |               |

<sup>14</sup> I am not sure whether No. 4 of the Syracusan series belonged to the hoard. As, however, it presented the same appearance as other specimens from the deposit, I have included it in my list.

- Rev.*—Quadriga l., with youthful charioteer crowned by flying Nikê, with long wing-like folds, and her chitôn falling from her upper arms. In exergue, **ΞVRA** . . . . . 2  
(Pl. VI., 5.)
5. *Obv.*—**ΞVR AK OΞI ON**. Diademed female head with stephanê l.; beaded hair falling behind, tied near to end. Four dolphins.
- Rev.*—Quadriga with male charioteer r., horses crowned by flying Nikê, with long upper folds of chitôn falling down from her shoulders 1  
(*B. M. Cat.* 10.) (Pl. VI., 6.)
6. *Obv.*—**ΞVRAKOΞION**. Female head r., crowned with beaded diadem, and wearing necklace; hair falling down the neck, and tied at the extremity. Four dolphins round.
- Rev.*—Male charioteer in quadriga r., the horses crowned by a Nikê with one wing spread on either side of her . . . . . 4
7. *Obv.*—**ΞVRA KOΞ IO N**. Similar, but larger head.
- Rev.*—Similar . . . . . 3
8. *Obv.*—**ΞV [PAK] OΞI ON**. Female head to r., crowned with olive, and wearing earring and necklace, the hair gathered up behind and tied with double cord. Round the head a linear circle and four dolphins. (Dâma-reteion type).
- Rev.*—Similar, but male figure perhaps not bearded, and Nikê with wings behind her. (There is nothing in the exergue) . . . . . 2
9. *Obv.*—**ΞVRA KO ΞI ON**. Female head to r., her hair caught up behind by beaded diadem. Four dolphins round.

	No. of Coins.
<i>Rev.</i> —Male charioteer in quadriga to l.; horses crowned by flying Nikê with both wings visible . . . . .	2
10. <i>Obv.</i> — <b>ΣVPAK OΞI ON</b> . Similar, but the hair bound up with two cords.	
<i>Rev.</i> —As No. 4. . . . .	1
11. <i>Obv.</i> — <b>ΣVR AK OΞ ION</b> . As No. 8.	
<i>Rev.</i> —Male charioteer r., Nikê with wings behind her.	1
12. <i>Obv.</i> <b>ΣVPA KOΞIO N</b> . Similar.	
<i>Rev.</i> Similar . . . . .	1
13. <i>Obv.</i> — <b>ΣVRVK OΞ I ON</b> . Similar, but with earring.	
<i>Rev.</i> —Similar . . . . .	2
14. <i>Obv.</i> — <b>ΣVRVKO ΞIO N</b> . Similar; earring.	
<i>Rev.</i> —Similar . . . . .	1
15. <i>Obv.</i> <b>ΣYRAKO ΞIO N</b> . Similar; no earring.	
<i>Rev.</i> —Similar . . . . .	2
16. <i>Obv.</i> — <b>ΣVR AK OΞ I ON</b> . Similar; no earring.	
<i>Rev.</i> —Similar . . . . .	1
17. <i>Obv.</i> — <b>ΣV RA KO ΞI ON</b> . Similar; earring.	
<i>Rev.</i> —Similar . . . . .	1
18. <i>Obv.</i> — <b>Σ VRA KOΞ ION</b> . Similar; earring.	
<i>Obv.</i> —Similar . . . . .	1
19. <i>Obv.</i> — <b>ΣV RA K OΞI ON</b> . Similar; earring.	
<i>Rev.</i> —Similar . . . . .	1
20. <i>Obv.</i> — <b>ΣVRVK OΞ I ON</b> . Similar; earring.	
<i>Rev.</i> —Similar; but Nikê showing both wings . . . . .	1

- No. of Coins.
21. *Obv.*—**ΞVRA KOΞ IO N.** Similar; no ear-  
ring.  
*Rev.*—Similar . . . . . 1
22. *Obv.*—**ΞVRAKOΞION.** Similar; no earring.  
*Rev.*—Similar . . . . . 2
23. *Obv.*—**ΞVRAK OΞION.** Similar; but hair  
bound with broad *tænia*.  
*Rev.*—Similar; but Nikê with wings behind her . . . 1
24. *Obv.*—**ΞVRAKOΞ IO N.** Female head to r.,  
hair caught up by beaded diadem; earring  
and necklace; around, four exceptionally  
large dolphins.  
*Rev.*—Youthful charioteer crowned by flying Nikê  
driving quadriga r. In exergue, pistrix . . . 1  
(*Cf. B. M. Cat., No. 68.*)
25. *Obv.*—**Ξ V RAKOΞI ON.** Similar head, but  
larger and in finer style. The dolphins  
smaller and more animated, and the whole  
design enclosed in a linear circle.  
*Rev.*—Youthful charioteer driving quadriga r., the  
horses crowned by flying Nikê. In exergue,  
pistrix . . . . . 2  
(*Cf., Head, Coinage of Syracuse, Pl. II. 2.*)  
(*Pl. VII., 1.*)
26. *Obv.*—**ΞVRAKOΞI O N.** Similar, but smaller  
head.  
*Rev.*—As No. 23. . . . . 1
27. *Obv.*—**ΞVRAKOΞION.** Female head r., with  
waved hair and beaded diadem; earring and  
necklace. Four dolphins round.  
*Rev.*—Similar to No. 24 . . . . . 1  
(*Cf. Head, Coinage of Syracuse, Pl. II. 9.*)  
(*Pl. VII., 2.*)



	No. of Coins.
28. <i>Obv.</i> — <b>ΞVRAKOΞI ON</b> . Female head r., a fillet visible round fore part of the hair, the back hair turned up; earrings and necklace. Four dolphins round.	
<i>Rev.</i> —Similar . . . . .	1
Syracuse, various, as Nos. 8—22 . . . . .	38

## GELA.

1. *Obv.*—**ΞAΛΕΩ** below fore part of man-headed bull swimming r.  
*Rev.*—Male charioteer driving quadriga r.; the horses crowned by flying Nikê . . . . . 4  
(B. M. Cat., No. 3.)
2. *Obv.*—Similar.  
*Rev.*—Similar, but Nikê with long ends of chitôn hanging down . . . . . 1
3. *Obv.*—**CEAAΞ** above fore part of man-headed bull to r.  
*Rev.*—As No. 1 . . . . . 2  
(B. M. Cat., No. 5.)
4. *Obv.*—Similar, but design of larger proportions, and on coin of larger module.  
*Rev.*—Charioteer driving pacing quadriga r. Behind the horses rises an Ionic column (*meta*). In exergue, ear of barley. (Two varieties.) . . . . . 2  
(Pl. VII., Fig. 8.)
5. *Obv.*—**CEVAΞ** (the **V** blundered, originally an **E**) beneath head of man-headed bull, crowned above by small Nikê flying r.  
*Rev.*—Male charioteer driving pacing quadriga l., behind which rises an Ionic column. In exergue, pistrinx . . . . . 1  
(Pl. VII., Fig. 4.)



COINS FROM THE VILLABATE HOARD.

Autotype



6. *Obv.*—**CEAAΞ** above fore part of man-faced bull of somewhat later style.
- Rev.*—Similar; Ionic column, &c.; but chariot to r.  
Nothing in exergue . . . . . 1  
(*B. M. Cat.*, 10.)
7. *Obv.*—Same, but in fine style.
- Rev.*—Male charioteer driving pacing quadriga r.  
The horses crowned by Nikê flying r. In  
exergue, *anthemion* . . . . . 1  
(*B. M. Cat.*, 36. Pl. VII., Fig. 5.)
8. *Obv.*—**CEAA[Ξ]** below a complete figure of a man-faced bull swimming and with its tail raised over its back. In a fine transitional style.
- Rev.*—Naked horseman in Phrygian cap galloping r., and with lance pointed in front of him . . . . . 1  
(Pl. VII., Fig. 6.)
- Gela, various . . . . . 4

## LEONTINOI.

1. *Obv.*—**VO WIT VO EA**. Female head r., crowned with wreath, perhaps of olive, and the hair caught up behind. Around, outside inscription, four barleycorns.
- Rev.*—Male, apparently youthful, charioteer driving pacing quadriga r., the horses' heads crowned by flying Nikê. In field to r. in front of the horses **AA**. In exergue, lion running r. . . . . 1  
(Pl. VII., Fig. 7.)
2. *Obv.*—Lion's head surrounded by four barleycorns.
- Rev.*—Similar. In exergue, **AEONTINON** . . . . . 1  
(*B. M. Cat.*, No. 4.)
3. *Obv.*—**WOW I TWO EA**. Similar type.
- Rev.*—Similar, but Nikê with wings expanded. Nothing in exergue . . . . . 1

4. *Obv.*—**N O NIKNOEA**. Similar type.  
*Rev.*—Similar . . . . . 1
5. *Obv.*—Similar.  
*Rev.*—Similar, but Nikê with wings behind her . . . . . 1
6. *Obv.*—**AEONTIMO**. Similar type.  
*Rev.*—Similar . . . . . 1
7. *Obv.*—**AEONTINON**. Similar type.  
*Rev.*—Youthful charioteer l., horses trotting, crowned  
by Nikê flying r.  
(Cf. *B. M. Cat.*, No. 1.)  
Leontinoi, various . . . . . 4

## HIMERA.

1. *Obv.*—**IM ER AIO N**. Facing figure of Nymph  
Himera in sleeved Ionic chitôn and hima-  
tion, her head turned to l., towards altar,  
over which she holds a patera; to r., ithy-  
phallic Seilênos seen in profile, bathing  
beneath lion-headed spout.  
*Rev.*—Bearded charioteer (Pelops) driving pacing  
quadriga l., and crowned by Nikê flying r.  
In exergue **IMERAION** . . . . . 2
2. *Obv.*—Similar, but no inscription; finer style.  
*Rev.*—Similar . . . . . 1  
(Pl. VII., Fig. 8.)
3. *Obv.*—**[IM]E RAI ON**. Similar, but from smaller  
die. Seilênos not ithyphallic, seen in profile  
as before.  
*Rev.*—Similar, but from smaller die. No inscription  
in exergue . . . . . 4  
(Pl. VII., Fig. 9.)
4. *Obv.*—**IMERAION**. Similar; larger die. Seilênos  
slightly less in profile.

*Rev.*—As No. 1, but Nikê with ends of himation hanging down . . . . . 2

## AKRAGAS.

1. *Obv.*—**AKRAC**  
**3OTNA** Eagle with closed wings l.  
*Rev.*—Crab . . . . . 6  
(*B. M. Cat.*, 38.)
2. *Obv.*—Similar; eagle on dotted base.  
*Rev.*—Same, but beneath crab a barleycorn . . . 1  
(*B. M. Cat.*, 40.)
3. *Obv.*—Similar.  
*Rev.*—Beneath crab a rosebud with spiral spray on either side. Two varieties . . . . . 8  
(*B. M. Cat.*, 42.)
4. *Obv.*—**AKRAC ANTOΣ**. Similar type.  
*Rev.*—Similar . . . . . 1  
(*B. M. Cat.*, 43.)
5. *Obv.*—**AKRAC**  
**3OTNA** Eagle with closed wings standing on Ionic capital.  
*Rev.*—Beneath crab an eight-rayed star . . . . . 1  
(*Pl. VII.*, Fig. 10.)  
Akragas, as above, various . . . . . 6

## MESSANA.

1. *Obv.*—**MEΣΣE N ION**. Hare running r.  
*Rev.*—Bearded male charioteer driving biga of mules (*apene*) walking r. In exergue, olive leaf . . . 1  
(*B. M. Cat.*, 11.)
2. *Obv.*—**WOIW EΣΣEM**. Similar.

	No. of Coins.
<i>Rev.</i> —Similar. In exergue, olive leaf and berries . . .	1
( <i>Cf.</i> , <i>B. M. Cat.</i> , 15.)	
3. <i>Obv.</i> — <b>MEZZAN I ON</b> . Similar type; above, <b>D</b> .	
<i>Rev.</i> —Similar, but Nikê flying r., and crowning mules. In exergue, olive leaf and berry . . .	1
4. <i>Obv.</i> — <b>MEZZA N I ON</b> . Similar; above head a small olive leaf and berry.	
<i>Rev.</i> —Similar. . . . .	1
Messana, as above, various . . . . .	9

## RHÉGION.

1. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.
- Rev.*—**RECI NOS**. Bearded male figure, naked to waist, seated to l., resting on staff. The whole in olive wreath . . . . . 1
- (*Cf.* *B. M. Cat.* 8. Pl. VII., Fig. 11.)

## ANALYSIS OF THE COINS DESCRIBED.

Syracuse . . . . .	79
Gela . . . . .	17
Leontinoi . . . . .	10
Himera . . . . .	9
Akragas . . . . .	18
Messana . . . . .	13
Rhégion . . . . .	1

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The composition of the Villabate hoard is suggestive in many ways. The predominant position of Syracuse in the island is well attested by the fact that of the coins discovered somewhat more than half belonged to that city. The tetradrachm issues of Segesta and the still rarer pieces of the neighbouring Panormos were as yet unknown; the earliest tetradrachms of Motya, if already struck, were,

at any rate, unrepresented in the deposit. On the other hand, the exceptionally brilliant condition of the coins of Himera clearly indicates that the first tetradrachms bearing the name of that city had only very recently been issued from its mint at the time when the hoard was deposited. From the proximity of the site of Himera, negative evidence is in this case of considerable importance, and it is worthy of remark that only the very earliest tetradrachm types, with the Seilênos in profile, and, in some cases, in his more bestial aspect, are represented in the present find.

In this fact we have a clear chronological indication. The government of Therôn at Himera is sufficiently marked by the didrachm series which couples the cock, the canting badge of that city, with the crab of Therôn's own city of Akragas. In 476 B.C.,<sup>15</sup> after the abortive insurrection against the oppressive rule of Therôn's son, Thrasydæos, had been put down by Therôn with great severity, the now depopulated city was recolonized with a body of Doric citizens. In 472 Therôn died, and shortly after Thrasydæos was expelled from Himera. In 466 B.C. Himera appears, as an independent city, aiding the Syracusans to throw off the yoke of Thrasydæos, and it is approximately to this date that the first issue of the Himeræan tetradrachms must be referred. The slight development in the type of these, visible in the specimens preserved among the Villabate coins, may incline us to bring down the date of the present deposit to about the year 450 B.C.

This date squares well with the evidence supplied by

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<sup>15</sup> See Bunbury s. v. Himera, in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*.



the latest Syracusan coins of the hoard. These coins, Nos. 23—28 of my list, show the *pistrix* in the exergue of their reverse types, the introduction of which on the Syracusan dies Dr. Head has reasonably connected with Hierôn's great sea victory off Cumæ, of 474. From the considerable advance in style observable on some of these coins, it is evident that they continued to be issued at least to 467, the year of Hierôn's death. Indeed, from the variety and abundance of these types, I am inclined to go still further than Dr. Head, and to suggest that the symbol of sea-power survived on the issues of the Syracusan democracy for another two decades or more. It is noteworthy that the most advanced of the types in question, that, namely, on which the horses are represented as galloping,<sup>16</sup> together with some others, did not occur in the Villabate hoard.

One of the novelties supplied by the present find is the appearance of the same sea-monster in the same exergual position on a coin of Gela (Pl. VII., fig. 4). From the early style of this coin, the fabric of which is somewhat barbarous, it must be referred to about the same date as the earliest of the Syracusan coins presenting the same symbol. It may, therefore, be reasonably brought into connection with the same historical occasion, and may be regarded as a complimentary allusion to the great citizen of Gela who now ruled at Syracuse. It is possible that a Gelôan contingent participated in the naval victory over the Etruscans: the victorious occasion of the present piece is, indeed, accentuated and brought into direct rela-

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<sup>16</sup> Head, *Coinage of Syracuse*, Pl. II. 12. Nos. 10 and 11 of the same Plate were also unrepresented in the Villabate deposit.

tion with Gela itself by the obverse design, on which, almost alone among the coins of this city, a flying Nikê is seen crowning the head of the River-God.<sup>17</sup>

A still more remarkable specimen of the Gelôan coinage supplied by the present find is the piece described under No. 8, exhibiting, on the obverse, the whole figure of the man-headed bull (Pl. VII., fig. 6). This type is quite unique, the nearest approach to it being that published by Baron Hirsch,<sup>18</sup> on which a man-headed bull of more archaic type is seen in the act, apparently, of galloping. On the present coin the personified river is of more advanced style, and it is clearly intended to be swimming. The reverse design of the horseman in a Phrygian helmet is the same in both instances, and is common enough on the didrachms of this period. Of the other coins of Gela, No. 4 (Pl. VII., fig. 3), with the ear of barley in the exergue of the reverse, is seemingly an unedited variety.<sup>19</sup> The latest and finest type represented, No. 7 (Pl. VII., fig. 5), is in brilliant preservation, and must have been freshly minted at the time when the hoard was withdrawn from circulation. It would thus appear that this magnificent representation of the tauriform River-God dates as early as 450 B.C.

A new feature of considerable interest is revealed by the very rare tetradrachm of Leontinoi, No. 1 (Pl. VII., fig. 7), exhibiting on the obverse an archaic female head, surrounded by four barley-corns. Upon the reverse of this coin, the design of which, with the lion in the

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<sup>17</sup> For another example of the bull crowned by Nikê see Castelli, *Siciliæ Nummi Veteres*, Auct. T. IV.

<sup>18</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1883, Pl. IX. 3, p. 166. The man-headed bull is there described as "prancing."

<sup>19</sup> A variant of this, however, with a Nikê above the *meta* was known to Castelli, see *op. cit.*, Pl. XXXI., 10.

exergue, corresponds in every respect with the Dâmareteion, there are seen immediately before the horse's breast the two letters  $\Sigma\Lambda$ .<sup>20</sup> According to the analogy of later Sicilian practice these letters would refer to the name of the engraver, and, in this connexion, one may particularly recall the first three letters of Kimôn's name written backwards in the field above the horses on one of his "medallions."<sup>21</sup> The identity of the reverse type of this coin, both in style and design, with that of the Dâmareteion, shows that it belongs to the same date, and it seems, therefore, that we have here an instance of an engraver's signature as early as 479 B.C. The style of the obverse of this coin is decidedly inferior to that of the Dâmareteion. On the other hand, the reverse is of exceptionally fine execution, and far surpasses that of any other Leontine coin of that period. The handiwork, in fact, so closely approaches that of the Dâmareteian types, that it is difficult not to believe that it is by the same engraver. Certain minute characteristics, such as the twisted tails of the horses and the very fine, almost invisible, spokes of the chariot-wheel, make the general correspondence the more striking; and, considering the close political dependence in which Leontinoi at this time stood to Syracuse, the collaboration of a Syracusan engraver on a Leontine die, itself commemorative of Gelôn's triumph, would be likely enough.

Of the other coins of Leontinoi, showing the lion's head

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<sup>20</sup> On the specimen of this type in the British Museum the same letters may be detected, though, from the indifferent preservation of this part of the coin, they had hitherto eluded observation. The coin is, in fact, from the same die as that from the Villabate find.

<sup>21</sup> *Syracusan Medallions*, p. 200.

on the obverse, one of the most developed presents the horses of the quadriga galloping. On the other hand, the common Leontine type of the immediately succeeding series, the obverse of which bears the laureate head of Apollo, was entirely absent from the Villabate hoard. It looks, then, as if this later series began not earlier than about 450 B.C. The parallel coins of Katana with a very similar head are also absent from the find, no tetradrachm of that city occurring in the deposit. It is true that the non-appearance of the early Katanæan types with the man-headed bull in itself proves little, as these coins are of extreme rarity; but had the abundant tetradrachms with Apollo's head been already in circulation at the time when the present hoard was deposited, it is difficult to believe that not a single specimen would have been found. It follows that the beginning of the Apolline coinage at Katana, as at Leontinoi, took place after the approximate date, 450 B.C. For myself, I will venture to express a suspicion that the earliest tetradrachms of Katana, exhibiting the man-headed bull, date no farther back than the restoration of the city after the expulsion of the Ætnæans in 461 B.C.

The coins of Akragas present few special features of interest, but the type (Pl. VII., fig. 10) with the eight-rayed star beneath the crab appears to be a novelty. The coins described may be taken to belong to the age of Therôn, who died in 472 B.C., and to the early days of the democracy which then succeeded. Among the coins of Messana that with the **D** above the hare (No. 3) supplies a new variety, and affords, at the same time, a solitary instance of the occurrence of this Chalkidian letter-form on an issue later than the archaic pieces of Zanklê. It must be taken in connection with two other types (*B. M. Cat.*, 16,

19, 20) in which A and B, or 8, appear in a similar position, above or below the hare. The latest Messanian piece described above (No. 4), bearing the legend **MEΞΞANION**, is somewhat worn, and must have been some years in circulation at the time when the hoard was deposited.

#### IV.—SOME NEW LIGHTS ON THE MONETARY FRAUDS OF DIONYSIOS.

In my *Syracusan Medallions* a variety of reasons have been given for believing that the prolific tetradrachm coinage of Syracuse ceased early in the reign of Dionysios the Elder. This remarkable numismatic phenomenon must naturally be taken in connection with the various financial expedients to which Dionysios was reduced, and in particular with his attempts, recorded by Aristotle and Pollux, to tamper with the Syracusan coinage—such as his alleged doubling of the value of silver pieces by means of a countermark and his issue of tin money.

The brilliancy of Dionysios' reign and the commanding position that he occupied must not blind us to the fact that he was in continual financial difficulties. Great as was the power of Syracuse under his government, it must not be forgotten that it rose amidst the ruins and on the ashes of the other cities of Greek Sicily. The overwhelming Carthaginian invasions of 409 and 405 had wiped out or reduced to a shadow of their former greatness the cities that stood next to Syracuse in wealth and power. Akragas, Himera, Selinous and Messana had been utterly overthrown, Gela and Kamarina reduced to Punic subjection. Dionysios himself had desolated Naxos and Katanê and transported to Syracuse the old inhabitants of Leontinoi. By his capture of Motya, a principal centre of Sicilian

industry and commerce, which though itself Phœnician in origin, had become by this time largely Hellenized, was wholly annihilated, and the capture of Rhêgion, Kaulonia and Krotôn spread devastation beyond the straits. But amidst this ever-widening circle of ruin the needs of Dionysios himself were always growing. His continual wars, his elaborate equipment and artillery, the colossal development that he gave the Syracusan navy, his public buildings, and vast schemes of fortification, the gorgeous "theories" with which he sought to dazzle the rest of Greece, and, above all, the needs of his motley host of mercenaries, involved a constant drain on the tyrant's treasury.<sup>22</sup>

It is not then surprising to find that Dionysios was reduced for the most part to live on his capital. He swept into his coffers the hoarded wealth of the cities that he destroyed and of the citizens that he plundered, but his own actual mintage was reduced to a minimum. The fine pentêkонтalitra, and to a certain extent his gold coinage, served for the natural gratification of his pride and for the exaltation of his prestige among his mercenary bands, who at any rate required their payment in hard cash. But, saving these exceptional pieces, the Syracusan treasury was filled with the coinage of more prosperous days—with the issues of cities that now no longer existed, and with the imported "pegasi" of Corinth and her colonies, or even the "Camp-coinage" of the Carthaginians.

The proof of this is to be found in the composition of the great Sicilian hoards of Dionysios' time, such as those of

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<sup>22</sup> I have more fully stated the ruinous financial effects of Dionysios's career in my third Supplement to Freeman's *Sicily*, vol. iv., p. 230 *seqq.*, "The Finance and Coinage of Dionysios."

Contessa<sup>23</sup> and of Santa Maria di Licodia.<sup>24</sup> In the latter hoard, it is true, the dekadrachms predominated, but there were also many "pegasi" as well as early tetradrachms. At Contessa, although the dekadrachms by Evænetos showed that the deposit took place in Dionysios' reign, the Sicilian Greek tetradrachms belonged—as their style alone would have been sufficient to prove—to an earlier period; and here again, as in a very similar hoard from near Piazza Armerina, of which I lately obtained cognizance, the "pegasi" predominated. As far as we can judge, the most abundant currency of Dionysios' time—at least, of the later part of his reign—consisted in these imported Corinthian "pegasi" or staters of ten litras, which form indeed the exclusive contents of many Sicilian finds belonging to this period.

One of the best proofs of the cessation of the tetradrachm coinage at Syracuse in the last years of the fifth century is to be found in the fact that with the exception of one unique piece,<sup>25</sup> no tetradrachms of this period exist as late in style as the dekadrachms of Evænetos. Some of Kimôn's earlier "medallions" were also struck in the tetradrachm form. But his latest type does not appear in the lesser module. And though Evænetos was employed to engrave tetradrachm dies for Syracuse at an earlier date and in an earlier manner, yet in the latest days of

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<sup>23</sup> *Syracusan Medallions*, p. 160 *seqq.*, and Salinas, *Ripostiglio Siciliano di Monete antiche di Argento*, in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1888.

<sup>24</sup> *Syracusan Medallions*, p. 13, *seqq.*

<sup>25</sup> Carfrae collection, Catalogue No. 68, Pl. III. 12. It shows a globule beneath the chin of Persephonê, and is executed in the style of Evænetos' earliest dekadrachm types with the cockle-shell behind the head. As in the case of these earliest dekadrachms, there is no signature.

his activity, when he was still executing die after die for his noble pentêkontalitra, he never seems to have been employed for a single tetradrachm type.

This cessation of the tetradrachm issues early in Dionysios' reign may be reasonably connected with a notice of Aristotle<sup>26</sup> and Julius Pollux,<sup>27</sup> to the effect that Dionysios "being in want of money"<sup>28</sup> and having levied a forced loan for the equipment of his fleet—this no doubt refers to the colossal armament of 402 B.C.—repaid it by forcing on his creditors tin coins of the nominal value of four drachmæ but which in reality were only worth one. No tetradrachms of tin or debased metal are now known, though this notice may give us some historical warrant for regarding the year 402 B.C., the moment of Dionysios' most exhaustive financial effort, as the date when the issue of silver tetradrachms definitely breaks off. But a recent discovery tends to show that whether or not tin tetradrachms were actually struck, Dionysios about this very period had recourse to a debased dekadrachm issue.

I am able to lay before the Society a remarkable coin (Pl. VIII., fig. 1) of the type and module of the ordinary silver "medallions" of Evænetos, but of bronze, originally coated with a white metal, minute grains of which are still visible on the surface of the coin.

The fine style of the coin proclaims at once the hand of Evænetos. The portrait of the Korê is indeed identical with that on some of his earliest dekadrachm types, and the arrangement of the quadriga on the reverse belongs to this artist and no other. It is, however, difficult to

<sup>26</sup> Econ. ii. 20.

<sup>27</sup> ix. 79.

<sup>28</sup> "οὐκ εὐπορῶν ἀργυρίου."



say whether in this instance there are traces of Evænetos' name beneath the dolphin under the head.

But the most significant feature about the coin remains to be described. We have not here, as is so often the case, to deal with a plated replica of a known silver type, but with an impression from a wholly new die, specially engraved by the great Syracusan artist. The obverse of the present piece differs in two particulars from any known dekadrachm of Evænetos. A small pellet or globule, which on other examples is often seen beneath the neck, occurs here behind the head, as is the case on some early gold coins of this artist. There is at the same time no trace of the usual dolphin behind the head. Another peculiarity is still more remarkable. The form of earring used is of the floral kind chosen by Kimôn for his earliest "medallion" <sup>29</sup> (Type I.), but which is altogether unknown on those from the hand of Evænetos, though, to judge from a Segestan coin that I have elsewhere ventured to refer to the latter artist, the type itself does not seem to have been unfamiliar to him. Both from this peculiarity and the bold style of the head, the present coin must be taken to fit on to the earliest silver dekadrachm issues of Evænetos, and belongs therefore to an approximate date which agrees very well with 402 B.C., the time of Dionysios' most pressing necessities and at the same time of his most shameless monetary devices.

Owing to the microscopic character of the particles of white metal which may be detected here and there in the hollow parts of the relief, it has been extremely difficult to submit it to satisfactory analysis. A small scraping of the surface led to purely negative results, and risk of

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<sup>29</sup> See *Syracusan Medallions*, p. 79.

injuring the coin made it undesirable to submit it to a further process of this kind. At my request, however, Mr. W. W. Fisher, the Aldrichian Demonstrator at Oxford, kindly undertook to touch the largest spot of white metal that could be found on the surface of the coin with nitric acid applied with a fine point, and, after allowing the acid to act on it for a short time, analysed the resulting solution. The spot of white metal was visibly diminished by the process, and the analysis gave the important negative result that no trace of silver was discoverable. The small amount of the deposit made an exhaustive analysis unattainable, but Mr. Fisher sums up the result of his examination as follows: "The metallic coating does not contain silver, but is probably tin. I consider the absence of silver sufficiently demonstrated." Such indeed is the almost necessary conclusion.

The issue of plated coins was, as is well known, a not infrequent practice of the Greek mints, and such coins must in most cases be regarded as part of the normal civic issue, and not as private forgeries, for they are struck from the same dies as the ordinary coinage. Dr. Head, indeed, is of opinion that this was one of the ways in which the ancient moneyers recouped themselves for the expenses of mintage, a certain proportion of the coins of a given silver issue being plated over a bronze core. But the evidence before us in the case of this Dionysian coin warrants the supposition that we have before us the evidence of a quite exceptional procedure. For, as already pointed out, we have not here to deal with a plated piece struck from one of the ordinary dekadrachm dies. In the course of my special researches in this branch of numismatics I have had occasion to examine some hundreds of Syracusan "medallions," both in the great Euro-

pean cabinets and from the large hoard recently discovered at Santa Maria di Licodia in Sicily, and have had the most ample grounds for assuring myself that the dekadrachms of Evænetos fall into a comparatively limited number of well-known varieties with their characteristic mint-marks and signatures. But the present coin belongs to none of these. It represents a distinct and hitherto unknown type, differing in certain minute but significant points from all the true silver issues. A special die was engraved for it by Dionysios' great monetary artist. Nor was it an ordinary silver-plated coin. It was washed over, as far as can be gathered from the existing traces, with a coating of tin.

All this points clearly to the conclusion that, in the present piece, we have before us a product of a more wholesale falsification than that exemplified by the small percentage of plated pieces issued with the ordinary currency.<sup>30</sup> The washing with tin instead of silver is itself a much more unblushing procedure. And the question inevitably suggests itself, have we not here an actual illustration of the monetary expedient of Dionysios recorded by Aristotle and Pollux? It is true that these authorities speak of tin tetradrachms. But the cessation of the tetradrachm issue at the beginning of Dionysios' reign, of which we have other irrefragable evidence, makes it more probable that if coins in base metal were struck by the tyrant they were dekadrachms rather than pieces of a lesser denomination. And between tin coins and bronze coins coated with tin the difference is slight enough to render confusion easy.

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<sup>30</sup> I have never myself met with plated dekadrachms of the ordinary issues.

Another monetary expedient of Dionysios is recorded about which numismatic evidence has been hitherto lacking. Aristotle<sup>31</sup> says that having on another occasion borrowed money from the citizens, he countermarked the coins in such a way as to double their legal value, and repaid his debt in the newly-stamped coins, every drachm of silver thus standing for two.

From another notice of Aristotle<sup>32</sup> it appears probable that it was in Dionysios' time that "the old Sicilian talent" of twenty-four noummoi was reduced to twelve. This passage has given rise to very various interpretations. Mommsen,<sup>33</sup> on the strength of Pollux' assertion that the noummos was equivalent to one and a half obols, assumes that the Sicilian noummos was identical with the litra which Pollux<sup>34</sup> elsewhere equates with the Æginetan obol (= one and a half Attic obols). But inasmuch as the Sicilian talent is known, both from Diodôrus<sup>35</sup> and the great Tauromenitan Inscriptions,<sup>36</sup> to have contained 120 litras, Mommsen concludes that Aristotle's "old Sicilian talent" of twenty-four noummoi had been preceded by an earlier talent of 120 noummoi; and that, therefore, a reduction of the talent to one-fifth had already taken place. Finally, he brings Aristotle's reference to the reduction of the tetradrachms by Dionysios to one-quarter of their value, by his issue of base metal coins, into

<sup>31</sup> Œcon. ii. 20.

<sup>32</sup> Poll. ix. 87.: τὸ μέντοι Σικελικὸν τάλαντον ἐλάχιστον ἴσχυεν, τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης λέγει, τέτταρας καὶ εἴκοσι τοὺς νούμμους, τὸ δὲ ὕστερον δώδεκα, δύνασθαι δὲ τὸν νοῦμμον τρία ἡμιοβόλια.

<sup>33</sup> *Gesch. des röm. Münzwesens*, 50; Ed. Blacas, i. 103.

<sup>34</sup> Pollux ix. 80.

<sup>35</sup> xi. 26.

<sup>36</sup> C. I. G. 5640, 5641.

direct relation with this reduction of the talent. In this he is followed by Hultsch,<sup>37</sup> Head,<sup>38</sup> and others.

But, as Holm justly points out,<sup>39</sup> the two passages in Pollux, ix. 79 and ix. 87, refer to quite different transactions, and the coinage of "tin" tetradrachms one-fourth the value of the silver can, in any case, have nothing to do with a supposed reduction of the silver talent to a fifth of its former value.

To suppose, indeed, that by the "old Sicilian talent" Aristotle could have simply meant a greatly reduced talent which only lasted a few years of Dionysios' reign, is to place an altogether unwarrantable construction on his words. We have simply to deal with a reduction of the old talent by one-half, namely, from twenty-four to twelve noummoi, and it is only the statement that the noummos and litra were identical that is at fault. The Sicilian talent, as we know from other sources, originally contained twenty-four drachmæ, and it seems preferable, therefore, to conclude that the noummos of Syracuse was at this time a drachm.

The statement of Pollux and Aristotle, then, amounts to this, that whereas the Sicilian talent had hitherto contained twenty-four drachmæ, it was now reduced to twelve or to one-half its former value. But we know from the great Tauromenitan Inscriptions that, for purposes of reckoning, this reduced talent continued to be divided into 120 litras of account. A drachma therefore contained ten litras of account, though it still represented only five silver litras.

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<sup>37</sup> *Gr. u. röm. Metrologie*, 663.

<sup>38</sup> *Coins of Syracuse*, p. 13.

<sup>39</sup> *Gesch. Siciliens*, ii. 445.

This reduction of the Sicilian talent, which there is every reason to refer to Dionysios, though it has nothing to do with his debased tetradrachm coinage, corresponds very closely with the monetary expedient already referred to by which the nominal value of every drachma was doubled. The reduction of the talent to half its former value would, as we have seen, have had precisely this effect. And in view of this coincidence of cause and effect, it seems possible to attach a new meaning to Aristotle's statement that Dionysios, having stamped the coin in a certain way, repaid his creditors in coin, every drachma of which had acquired the fictitious value of two drachmæ. For we have seen that the coinage of Syracusan tetradrachms had been stopped by Dionysios, and, as a consequence of this, the Corinthian staters of ten litras—each equivalent to an Attic didrachm—became the almost exclusive currency of Syracuse and Greek Sicily. Supposing, then, that Dionysios had borrowed money of the old Syracusan stamp, and, after reducing the value of the talent by one-half, had repaid his creditors in imported "pegasi," which, though only didrachms, now had the same legal value as was formerly possessed by tetradrachms, a very slight perversion of the transaction would explain Aristotle's statement. And in the absence of any countermarked Syracusan coins of this period, such as Aristotle's words, taken literally, seem to imply, we are almost bound to look for some such explanation.<sup>40</sup> Actual "pegasi," indeed, do not seem to have been struck by the Syracusan mint itself till Diôn's time,<sup>41</sup> but, as we have seen, they were at this time

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<sup>40</sup> The above argument has been also stated by me in "Finance and Coinage of the Elder Dionysios," contained in Freeman, *Sicily*, vol. iv. (see pp. 227, 228).

<sup>41</sup> See *Syracusan "Medallions" and their Engravers*, p. 157.

imported in such numbers from Corinth and her colonies that, by the end of Dionysios' reign, they had become the chief currency of the island.

V.—THE EFFECTS OF THE DIONYSIAN FINANCE ON THE SILVER SYSTEMS OF ETRURIA AND ROME.

The results arrived at in the preceding section seem to me to be of great importance in their bearing on the later Etruscan and early Roman silver system. The identification of the Syracusan noummos with the drachma instead of the litra at once explains in the simplest way Aristotle's statement that there were twenty-four noummoi in the old Sicilian talent, and there is no further need for elaborate hypotheses involving large previous reductions of the talent, about which we know nothing. The financial expedient of Dionysios, by which the value of every drachma or noummos was now doubled, resulted in its being worth ten litras of account, in place of its real silver value of five litras, and so, as has been already remarked, in the Tauromenitan Inscriptions we find the now reduced talent of 12 drachmæ or noummoi still worth 120 litras of account.

Many of the earliest silver coins of Etruria are, as is well known, struck on the Syracusan standard,<sup>42</sup> and their unit is a coin identical in weight with the silver litra (13·5 grains). What we may call the Etruscan didrachms or dekalitra of this class exhibit the denarial sign X, indicative of their division into ten litras.

At a certain epoch, however, this Sicilian standard in Etruria is reduced by one-half. The denarial mark,

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<sup>42</sup> Cf. Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 11.

representing 10 litras, now appears upon the drachm, while the former didrachm bears the double stamp, XX, showing that it has become, for purposes of account, at least, a piece of 20 litras, the equivalent, that is, of the old tetradrachm. This is a process obviously identical with that by which, as pointed out above, Dionysios transformed the current "pegasi" or staters of ten litras into coins of the legal value of tetradrachms. With regard to the date of this sudden change in the Etruscan silver standard, the evidence of style, as Dr. Head has shown,<sup>43</sup> indicates that it took place in the first half of the fourth century B.C.; in other words, in the latter part of the reign of Dionysios. Can it be doubted that we have here before us a direct result of Dionysios' monetary *coup*?

The origins of the Roman silver system are deeply rooted in those of Etruria—the principal marks and divisions were, in fact, simply taken on. On the other hand, the evidence is not less clear of a connection between the system of silver calculation in use at Rome and that of the Sicilian Greeks. That this Sicilian influence may in the main have been derived indirectly through Etruscan channels does not really invalidate the broad statement of Varro and others as to the Sicilian origin of the Roman nummus.<sup>44</sup>

According to the Roman system as it first emerges in the light of history, the drachma of Greek Sicily found its equivalent for purposes of calculation in the nummus denarius, the tenth part of which, namely, the new triental As, was known as the libella, the Latin equivalent

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<sup>43</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>44</sup> Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, v. 173; Festus s. v., and *cf.* Pollux, ix. 79.



and translation of the reduced Sicilian *litra* of account. Nothing can be clearer than Varro's words<sup>45</sup>: "*Nummi denarii decuma libella*," though the latter part of his statement, "*quod libram pondo As valebat et erat ex argento parva*," has caused much discussion.<sup>46</sup> And even the supposed difficulty occasioned by the fact that no silver coin of the value of this reduced *litra* exists, seems to be susceptible of a rational explanation. The denarius of Roman silver reckoning, referred to by Varro, answered to a coin which was actually in existence in Etruria, and the distinguishing mark of which was, indeed, taken over to the dies of the Roman denarii when they were first struck in the temple of Juno Moneta. But this Etruscan denarius of a drachm weight had, as we have seen, been preceded by an earlier coin, equivalent to a Greek didrachm, and we have a right to infer that the earliest nummus denarius of Roman silver calculation answered to the unreduced Etruscan prototype. It follows, therefore, that if Varro's words are taken to refer to this earliest form of the denarius, the concluding part of his sentence is literally true. In Etruria, at least, it was a coin divided into ten *litræ* or *libellæ*, each of which, according to Sicilian analogy, represented the silver value of a pound of bronze, or, in other words, of the original Roman *As*.

The historical Roman denarius, on the other hand, like the later Etruscan coin with the same denarial mark, answers to the Syracusan drachm of ten *litræ* of account, as introduced by the financial dictatorship of Dionysios.

The term nummus by the Romans was thus originally

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<sup>45</sup> De L. L. v. 174.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Hultsch, *Metrologie*, 275.

attached to the denarius.<sup>47</sup> It was only later that, owing to the conservative traditions of Roman finance, which clung to its old copper reckoning, the sestertius, as representing the value of the old libral As, became the recognised silver unit, and, in consequence of this, the name nummus was exclusively attached to it, the libella at the same time sinking to a tenth of the sestertius instead of the denarius. And it is this new arrangement which Pollux evidently had in view when he added the words—which, as we may suppose, represent Aristotle's original statement—describing the reduction of the Sicilian talent from 24 noummoi (or drachms) to 12, that the noummos was “worth an obol and a half.” An obol and a half Attic, or an Æginetan obol, is, in fact, Pollux's own inaccurate<sup>48</sup> estimate of the value of the unreduced Sicilian litra, and what he apparently had in his mind in stating that the noummos possessed that value was the Roman nummus sestertius, the Latin representative of the litra, being itself the silver equivalent of the libral As, just as the litra was of a pound of copper. In short, Pollux's account of the Sicilian noummos seems to have been based on the later Roman nummus or sestertius. But the “nummus denarius” was that to which the original statement of Aristotle really applies.

It will be seen that the conclusion to which we have been led by a study of Dionysios' financial expedients greatly simplifies the vexed question of the origin of the Roman nummus from the Sicilian. If the Syracusan noummos was the drachma, now divided into ten litras of account, and if, as seems certain, the earlier Roman

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<sup>47</sup> Cf. Hultsch, *Metrologie*, 276.

<sup>48</sup> ix. 80. A Sicilian *litra* really =  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Attic obols.

nummus of silver calculation was the denarius, also divided into ten libellæ or "little litras"; if, in addition to this, we have the clearest evidence both from the statements of ancient writers and the symbols employed for numeration, that the Roman system—partly, no doubt, through Etruscan mediation—was of Sicilian Greek origin, there can be no reason left for hunting after less obvious sources. Those who, like Mommsen and Hultsch, endeavour to identify the noummos with the litra, have been reduced to the most complicated hypotheses to explain the outgrowth of the Roman system from the Sicilian. According to Mommsen's view, the value of the Syracusan talent was reduced by Dionysios, first to a fifth and then to a tenth of its former value—an extraordinary and surely unheard-of form of bankruptcy—though this hypothesis is required by the theory that the Sicilian litra, which he identified with the noummos, was finally divided into ten litras of account. But, as has been shown above, there is no real authority for supposing either of these immense reductions to have taken place. On the other hand, all that is required to obtain the exact results with which we are confronted is a single reduction of one-half. And it is for such a reduction only, the reduction, namely, of the "old Sicilian talent" from 24 to 12 drachmæ, or, stated in a different way, the doubling of the legal value of every single drachm from 5 to 10 litræ, that we have any historical warrant.

But the fact which seems clearly to emerge from the above considerations, that the original Roman *nummus* was the denarius, leads us to a further interesting result. As already noticed, the Etruscan denarius, the coin that is marked by the denarial sign afterwards taken over by the Romans for their mintage, had been the equivalent of a

Sicilian Greek didrachm, and divided like it into ten *litrae* each answering to the silver value of a pound of bronze. There is, moreover, a high probability that the oldest Roman system of silver calculation fitted on like the later to the Etruscan practice, and that, therefore, the original nummus denarius of Roman reckoning was equivalent not to one but to two silver drachms. The form "*libella*," instead of "*libra*," applied to the tenth part of the *denarius* may, perhaps, even be regarded as itself containing a record of this reduction. For the Sikel form "*litra*" would be literally translated by its Latin equivalent "*libra*," as the value of a full pound of copper—"libella," on the other hand, would, in strict propriety, be applied to the reduced *litra* or *libra*.

The original nummus, *par excellence*, of ancient Rome would thus answer to the principal coin in circulation among the Greek cities of Italy—the didrachm, or to the Corinthian staters of ten *litras*, the "*Pegasi*," which towards the close of the fifth century B.C. gained such a wide-spread currency in the West. On the other hand, there is a piece of direct evidence that the didrachms issued by the Italiot Greeks were, in the case at least of one great city, known as νόμοι or *nummi*. Pollux quotes Aristotle for the statement that the Tarentines had a coin called a "*noummos*," and upon which was represented a figure of Taras riding on a dolphin.<sup>49</sup> This Tarentine *nummus* or νόμος, as I have elsewhere pointed out,<sup>50</sup> can have been nothing else than the ordinary didrachm of Tarentum, which is distinguished by the

<sup>49</sup> ix. 80. Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Ταραντίνων πολιτείᾳ καλεῖσθαι, φησι νόμισμα παρ' αὐτοῖς νοῦμμον ἐφ' οὗ ἐντετυπῶσθαι Τάραντα τὸν Ποσειδῶνος δελφῖνι ἐποχοῦμενον.

<sup>50</sup> *Horsemen of Tarentum*, pp. 9, 10; *Num. Chron.*, 1889, pp. 9, 10.

representation described, and in the same way the νόμος of the neighbouring and allied city of Hêrakleia seems to have been a coin of the same denomination.<sup>51</sup>

Another fact that makes the Tarentine comparison specially valuable is that at Taras, too, the nummus was divided on the Sicilian system into ten *litræ*.

The existence of an original nummus of ten *litræ* at Tarentum is in complete harmony with the appearance of the older class of Etruscan "denarius," with the same weight and the same division, and both, as the *litra* unit shows, are based on the Sicilian system as found at Syracuse in præ-Dionysian days. Even without the direct warrant that may be drawn from the statement of Varro we should, in face of this striking conformity, have a right to assume that at Rome, too, the original value of the nummus was of the same amount. And at Rome, too, as in Etruria, the same cause produced the same effect in the reduction of the "nummus denarius" to the value of a single drachm. That cause, as I hope to have shown, was the financial *coup* of Dionysios.

It seems probable that at Syracuse, also, previous to that event, the didrachm or stater of ten *litræ*—in other words, the "Pegasos"—may have borne the title of "noummos," which after the reduction changed to the drachm. Such an hypothesis would go far to explain the origin of the name νόμος; a stater of ten *litræ* would have been exactly one-twelfth of the old Sicilian talent, and the legal unit (or νόμος) of reckoning for higher values in silver. The "old Sicilian talent," then, of Aristotle would have been a "talent" of twelve *noummoi*

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<sup>51</sup> See *op. cit.*, p. 9, note-15. The *nomos* of the Hêrakleian Tables is probably the same as the Tarentine *noummos*.

or staters of ten litras. The reduced talent of Dionysios, on the contrary, was 12 noummoi of 5 litras. It was therefore natural that Aristotle, in speaking of the old Sicilian talent, should carry back to it the later usage of the term *noummos* as meaning a drachm only, and should in this way describe it as an equivalent to twenty-four noummoi.

#### VI.—THE OMEN OF THE KRIMISOS ON COINS OF HERBESSUS AND MORGANTINA.

Amongst the numerous coin types struck by the Sicilian cities in alliance with Timoleôn, none are more beautiful than those of Herbessus. These coins are generally overstruck on the Syracusan bronze pieces<sup>52</sup> with the head of Zeus Eleutherios and the free horse, the types of which are by themselves a clear indication of the revived democracy of Timoleôn's time. From their fine art they cannot themselves be much later in date than the Syracusan coins on which they are struck, and the myrtle-crowned head of Sikelia<sup>53</sup> that they exhibit fits on to the series of similar heads of personified Sicily that at this time appear on the coins of the allied cities with the legends **ΣΙΚΕΛΙΑ** and **ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ**.<sup>54</sup>

These large brass coins of Herbessus are accompanied by two reverses. On the commoner class there appears the bust of a man-headed bull. Upon the other type (Pl. VIII., fig. 3) an eagle is seen standing to the right and looking back at a serpent which he appears to be about to seize. On a contemporary bronze coin of Morgantina presenting an identical head of Sikelia occurs a variant of the same

<sup>52</sup> See Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies Grecques*, p. 19.

<sup>53</sup> Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 125. It appears in an identical form on coins of Adranum.

<sup>54</sup> See Head, *Coinage of Syracuse*, p. 87.

design, in which the eagle is seen opening his wings and with the serpent actually in his talons (Pl. VIII., fig. 2).

That these two pieces were struck at a time of close alliance between Herbessus and Morgantina there can be no doubt, and they are in the first place interesting geographically as bringing these two cities into close relation. No certainty has as yet been obtained as to the exact site of either town. Of Morgantina we know that it was at one time a dependency of Kamarina,<sup>55</sup> while, on the other hand, various episodes bring it into the same Sicilian region as Agyrium (S. Filippo d' Argiro) and Menænum (Mineo). In the time of Dionysios the Elder we hear of Magôn encamping in the Agyrian territory, "by the river Chrysas and near the road leading to Morgantina."<sup>56</sup> The Chrysas is the modern Dittaino, and even assuming that Morgantina lay to the south of Agyrium we are still a long way from Kamarina.

The best light on the site of Herbessus is thrown by a corrupt passage of Vibius Sequester, which brings it into connection with the river Helôros,<sup>57</sup> otherwise we only know that it lay on the borders of the territories of Syra-

<sup>55</sup> Thuc. iv. 65.

<sup>56</sup> Diod. xiv. 95. Κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀγυρινάων χώρα παρὰ τὸν Χρύσαν ποταμὸν ἐγγὺς τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς φερούσης εἰς Μοργαντίναν. This notice gains a special value from the local knowledge of Diodôros, who was a native of Agyrium.

<sup>57</sup> See C. Müller's note to the Paris edition of Ptolemy, p. 403; and cf. E. Pais: *Osservazioni sulla storia e sulla amministrazione della Sicilia durante il dominio romano*, p. 48, note. Vibius Sequester's words are, "Herbessus qui et Endrius (*i.e.* Helorius) ab oppido Alorino (*i.e.* Elorino) decurrit per fines Helori." This places Herbessus near the head waters of the Tellaro, and Pais (*loc. cit.*) suggests that its site may have been at Buscemi, where an ancient necropolis was discovered about 1870. Dr. P. Orsi, on the other hand, has identified the important remains at Pantalica with Herbessus (*Arch. pre-*

cuse and Leontinoi, and that Ptolemy places it between Leontinoi and Netum (old Noto). The close connection in which Herbessus and Morgantina stand on these coins, and the further historic link between Morgantina and Kamarina, tend to show that both lay on a line of passes between the Kamarinæan littoral and the valley of the Chrysas or Dittaino. The position of Herbessus near the source of the Helôros, at Pantalica, for example, would be consistent with such a theory.

Whatever special interests threw these now thoroughly Hellenized cities together, the fact that both adopted as their obverse type the head of Sikelia, which stood as a still wider federal badge in Timoleôn's Sicily, shows that they had shared in the common movement against Carthaginian and domestic tyranny. The reverse type of the eagle and serpent which appears on the coins of both cities may lead us to the further still more definite conclusion that both Herbessus and Morgantina claimed to have taken part in Timoleôn's victorious expedition into the Carthaginian Dominion in the west of the island, which ended in the crowning victory of the Krimisos.

The "Minister of Zeus" destroying the noxious reptile was, according to Greek ideas, a symbol of Victory. But it looks as if, in this case, we had something more than a general reference to the overthrow of the Punic enemy. It seems to me not unreasonable, considering the circumstances from which, on other evidence, we must suppose these coins of Herbessus and Morgantina to have been struck, to trace an actual reference to an omen of the same

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*ellenica Sicula*, 1891, p. 166), and this does not seem inconsistent with the evidence derived from Vibius Sequester, since the Helôros would have been near enough to have run through the territory of a town situated there.



kind, which, according to Plutarch, actually preceded the battle of the Krimisos. Plutarch relates that, on the eve of the fight, the soothsayers who accompanied Timoleón's army pointed out to the host two eagles, one of which held a serpent in his claws and screamed triumphantly as if presaging victory.<sup>58</sup> There can be no reason for doubting that the men whose profession it was to aid the general by the interpretation of signs and wonders seized on some incident of the march to spread about this story. This omen of victory was itself of a very well-known kind, and will be familiar to readers of the *Iliad*.<sup>59</sup> In a similar guise we find it on the coins of Elis, and, in another form—two eagles seizing a hare—it had supplied the design for the most splendid coins of Akragas,<sup>60</sup> and had inspired Æschylos with a noble passage in the *Chorus of the Agamemnon*.<sup>61</sup>

The head of Sikelia upon these alliance pieces of Herbessus and Morgantina is seen in a variant form on the coins of Hadranum, and, as already mentioned, on the League coinage, probably struck at Alæsa, accompanied in this latter case with the legend, **ΣΙΚΕΛΙΑ**. In these cases the hair of Sikelia is caught up behind in a *sphendonê*, while on the coins before us the tresses are unconfined, but in all versions alike the head is crowned with a myrtle-wreath, and is no doubt intended to represent the same personification.

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<sup>58</sup> Plut. Tim. xxvi. οἱ δὲ μάντιες κατιδόντες αἰτούς δύο προσφερομένους, ὃν ὁ μὲν δράκοντα τοῖς ὄνυξιν ἔφερε διαπεπαρμένον, ὁ δὲ ἵππατο κεκλαγὼς μέγα καὶ θαρραλέον, ἐπεδείκνυνον τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ πρὸς εὐχὰς θεῶν καὶ ἀνακλήσεις ἐτράποντο πάντες. This omen immediately succeeded that of the wild celery (σέλινον), commonly called "parsley."

<sup>59</sup> xii. 200, *seqq.*

<sup>60</sup> See Head, *Hist. Num.* 105.

<sup>61</sup> *Agam.* l. 110, *seqq.*

This head of personified Sicily is itself of great historical importance, as showing how the common interests of Hellenic and Hellenized Sicily as against the Carthaginian stranger and the mercenary and barbaric hordes of the tyrants of individual cities, were now giving birth to a new and wider form of insular patriotism, as opposed to local particularism. The idealised image of Sikelia, under the guise of a Greek Nymph, was itself a protest against the prophesied *ἐκβαρβαρώσεως* of the island<sup>62</sup> which had seemed so near its fulfilment at the time of Timoleôn's landing, when Greek itself was to die out in Sicily, and Punic or Oscan was to take its place. But it is worth while pointing out that, if we may judge from the numismatic evidence, it was the now Hellenized descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants from whom the island derived its name who took the lead in this national Sicilian movement. At the purely Greek cities, whose coinage was revived by Timoleôn's work of liberation, the types, except so far as they adopted the free horse as the emblem of restored democracy, remained local,—the crab at Akragas, the head of Athênê at Kamarina, of Helen at Tyndaris, of Poseidôn at Messana. It is not till the time of Agathoklês that the *triskelê* appear on the coins of Syracuse as the symbol of dominion over all Trinakria. In the Greek colonial foundations local pride and particularism were stronger than in the Hellenized native communities. And after all, the Sicilian name belonged to the kinsmen of Ducetius and not to the Greeks.

#### VII.—THE AFRICAN GOLD STATERO OF AGATHOKLÊS.

The most remarkable monument of the second period

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<sup>62</sup> *Plat. Ep.*, viii. p. 353 F.

of Agathoklès' coinage—that period marked by the first introduction of his name, though still without the kingly title on the Syracusan dies<sup>63</sup>—is unquestionably his African gold stater, hitherto only known through the single specimen preserved in the Imperial Cabinet at Vienna.<sup>64</sup> The kindness of Dr. Friedrich Kenner has now enabled me to give on Pl. VIII., fig. 6, a phototypic representation of this interesting coin.

The obverse of this coin, which is of the Attic standard, exhibits a youthful head coifed in an elephant's skin; the reverse is a winged Pallas with an owl at her feet, accompanied by the legend ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΞ. The reverse type of this coin has been brought into connection with the story of Agathoklès letting fly the owls in the face of the Carthaginians on the occasion of his victory near Tunis over Hannôn and Bomilkar<sup>65</sup> in the course of his first African campaign, which began in August, B.C. 410. So many of Agathoklès' "stratagems," however, are so manifestly due to the lying invention of the historian Douris, that Schubert, in his recent work on Agathoklès, has dismissed the whole story on that score,<sup>66</sup> and certainly

<sup>63</sup> For the periods of Agathoklès' coinage, see Head, *Coinage of Syracuse*, p. 42, *seqq.* I have discussed the subject in "The Despot's Progress on the Coinage of Agathoklès," in Freeman's *Sicily*, vol. iv., pp. 487 *seqq.* (Supplement V.).

<sup>64</sup> It has been previously described and engraved by Imhoof-Blumer, *Num. Zeitschr.*, i., p. 48 and Pl. V. 2. Cf. Head, *op. cit.* pp. 46, 47. I learn that another example exists in private hands.

<sup>65</sup> Diodôros, l. xx. c. 11. ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον κατὰ πλείονας τόπους γλαῦκας, ἃς ἐκ χρόνου παρεσκευάσατο πρὸς τὰς ἀθυμίας τῶν πολλῶν. αὗται δὲ διὰ τῆς φάλαγγος πετάμεναι, καὶ προσκαθίζουσαι ταῖς ἀσπίσι καὶ τοῖς κράνεσιν εὐθαρσεῖς ἐποίουν τοὺς στρατιώτας. κ. τ. λ.

<sup>66</sup> *Geschichte des Agathokles*, p. 111; and see my note, Freeman, *Sicily*, iv. p. 410.

the picture of Agathoklès marching against the Carthaginians with a good provision of owls somewhat taxes our faith in the narrator. It is, however, always possible that some real omen drawn from the bird of Athênê suggested this "flight of fancy" to the picturesque historian, and, taken in connection with the anecdote, the occurrence of the owl on the African gold stater of Agathoklès may well cover a genuine allusion.

From another point of view, however, this African type of Agathoklès suggests a significant comparison. It appears, namely, that the Sicilian tyrant had in this case simply adopted as his model the tetradrachm type of his Egyptian contemporary, Ptolemy Sotêr, struck from c. 311 to 305 B.C. On the coin in question (Pl. VIII., fig. 4) the head of Alexander the Great, covered with the elephant's skin, is coupled with a similar figure of Pallas Promachos on the reverse, though in this case she is wingless, and an eagle on a thunderbolt—the Ptolemaic badge—appears at her feet in place of the owl.<sup>67</sup> It is by no means certain who is intended to be portrayed by the youthful head on the Agathokleian piece, but the parallelism between it and the Ptolemaic type is in any case obvious.

What was it, then, that led Agathoklès to assimilate his African gold coinage to that of the representative of Macedonian empire in Egypt?

It seems to me that the most natural deduction to be drawn from this approximation to the Ptolemaic model is that the gold stater of Agathoklès was struck after the junction of the Kyrênæan contingent, under Ptolemy's officer Ophellas, with Agathoklès' "Army of Africa," in

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<sup>67</sup> *B. M. Cat., Ptolemies*, Pl. I.

408 B.C.<sup>68</sup> On the murder of Ophellas, Agathoklès, as regards at least one part of his forces, usurped the authority of a successor of Alexander. The constant aim of Agathoklès, during the latter part of his career, was indeed to claim recognition as an equal, and finally as a royal brother, amongst the family of Macedonian princes now springing up in the three continents. It was in the wake of their example,<sup>69</sup> probably some time after the close of 305, when Ptolemy assumed the royal style,<sup>70</sup> that Agathoklès, too, took the title of king. With Ptolemy himself he entered into a family connection by marrying Theoxena, an Egyptian princess.<sup>71</sup> Later we find him allied to Dêmétrios.

The introduction of his own name by Agathoklès on his African stater seems to have been equally suggested by a Ptolemaic precedent. About 311 B.C., Ptolemy had introduced on one, at least, of his Egyptian dies, in place of the earlier ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, the bolder inscription ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ,<sup>72</sup> and on his Kyrênæan gold staters, struck between 308 and 305 B.C. (Pl. VIII., fig. 5),<sup>73</sup> his name is coupled with that of the Kyrênæans in the Doric genitival form ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΩ. This last parallel is peculiarly pertinent to the case of the African gold coinage of Agathoklès.

The fact that during this very period he struck a gold stater of the same Attic standard as the Kyrênæan, insert-

<sup>68</sup> Diod. xx. 42.

<sup>69</sup> Diod. xx. 54.

<sup>70</sup> Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus* ii. 140, n. 1.

<sup>71</sup> Justin xxiii. 2. Droysen makes her out to be a daughter of Ptolemy's wife, Berenikê, by her first husband.

<sup>72</sup> Poole, *Ptolemies, Kings of Egypt* (B. M. Cat.), p. xxi., and Pl. XXXII. 3.

<sup>73</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. xx., xxi., and Pl. XXXII. 1.



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DEBASED DEKADRACHM.



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ALLIANCE COINS OF HERBESSUS AND MORGANTINA.



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8



COINS OF AGATHOKLES AND PTOLEMY.

AUTOTYPE.



ing his name in the same Ptolemaic style, points strongly to the moment when Agathoklès, after the murder of Ptolemy's officer, had succeeded to the command of his Kyrênæan contingent, and, with Carthage at his feet, might deem himself to be assuming on African soil the position of a Diadochos.

In its "Macedonian" character the gold stater of Agathoklès stands apart from his other coinage, and it may even be suggested that it was engraved by some Kyrênæan die-sinker in the following of Ophellas. The silver types by which Agathoklès commemorated his African victories are of a very different style (Pl. VIII., fig. 7). The inscription ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ beside the trophy on the reverse may indeed be compared with the ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ of the Ptolemaic coins,<sup>74</sup> but the character of the design and engraving is thoroughly Sicilian. The beautiful head of the Korè on the obverse, with her long falling tresses, is a creditable attempt to revive one of the finest of all the Syracusan coin-types of the last decades of the fifth century.<sup>75</sup> The standing Nikè on the reverse is the younger sister of the Victories that float above the chariots of Evænetos.

Besides these masterpieces of the Syracusan mint, there exists, however, a ruder class of tetradrachms with similar types (Pl. VIII., fig. 8), which are justly regarded as having been struck in the African camps of Agathoklès.<sup>76</sup> The contrast that these latter present to the fine fabric of

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<sup>74</sup> If this comparison holds good we should rather connect the adjective with the coin itself, *e.g.*, διοικητής, than with the Νίκη expressed in the type, as has been suggested by Dr. Kenner (*Münzsammlung des Stiftes St. Florian*, p. 15; *Head, op. cit.*, p. 47).

<sup>75</sup> *Coinage of Syracuse*, Pl. V. 4.

<sup>76</sup> See G. Romano, *Sopra alcune monete scoperte in Sicilia, &c.*



the gold stater lends some support to the suggestion that, in the case of this coin, Agathoklês may have had recourse to a Kyrênæan Greek engraver of Ophellas' following. It was essentially a coinage made by Greeks for Greeks. His own troops were for the most part barbarian mercenaries, and, rough as were his "camp pieces," they were doubtless good enough for such art critics.

In connexion with the present subject, it is interesting to observe that if Ptolemaic models reacted on the design of the African gold staters of Agathoklês, the fine tetradrachms, by which his Syracusan engravers celebrated his African victories, received the flattery of imitation at the hands of another of the Diadóchoi. There can be no reasonable doubt that the design of Nikê crowning a trophy, which appears on the tetradrachms of Seleukos Nikatôr,<sup>77</sup> struck in all probability to commemorate the part he played in the victory at Ipsos in 301, was suggested by the noble tetradrachm type of Agathoklês.

ARTHUR J. EVANS.

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<sup>77</sup> *B. M. Cat., Seleucidæ*, Pl. I. 11.

## VII.

### LATER INDO-SCYTHIANS.<sup>1</sup>

#### *EPHTHALITES, OR WHITE HUNS.*

(See Plates IX.—XII.)

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THE earliest notice that we possess of the great horde of Ephthalites or White Huns, who took Khorasan from the Sassanians and overran Northern India, is by the historian Priscus. It was in the camp of Attila, in A.D. 448, that he first heard of the Οὔννοι Κιδαρίται. The next notice is by Kosmas Indikopleustes, who in A.D. 530 mentions *Gollas*, king of the Λευκοὶ Οὔννοι, on the west bank of the Indus. He calls their country Οὔννια, again giving the name without the aspirate. Procopius also, who died in 565, calls them Οὔννοὺς Λευκοὺς and Ἐφθαλίτας. Theophanes, too, calls them *White Uns* and *Nephthalites*. The aspirate, however, is given by the Armenian writers Elisha and Lazarus, who speak of the *Hunk* and *Kushank*, or *Huns* and *Kushâns*. They are described by the Chinese pilgrim Sung-yun in A.D. 520 under the name of *Yetha*, which is only a shortened form of *Ye-tha-i-li-to*, the original of the Greek Ἐφθαλίται and of the Muhammadan *Haiathelah* of Firdausi and later

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<sup>1</sup> This paper was read at the Oriental Congress of 1892 and a portion of it has appeared without illustrations or descriptions in the Transactions of the Congress.

writers. As Sung-yun's description of the *Yetha* tallies exactly with Hwen Thsang's account of the *Himatala* in A.D. 640, we see that this is also a variant form of *Ephthala*. By the Indians they are always called *Hûna* or *Hâra Hûna*. It seems probable that their Chinese name of *Yuan-Yuan* may have been the original of the Indian *Hûna*.

The earliest Indian notice of the *Hûnas* is in the Bhitari inscription of Skanda Gupta, A.D. 450 to 480, where the king is said to have "joined in close conflict with the *Hûnas*."<sup>2</sup> According to the pilgrim Sung-yun, who was in Gandhâra in A.D. 520, two generations had already passed away since the *Hûna* conquest, when the *Yethas* set up *Lae-lih* as king.<sup>3</sup> As the accession of Mihirkul, who was then reigning, is now generally accepted as about A.D. 515, the conquest of Gandhâra and the enthronement of *Lae-lih* must be placed about fifty years earlier, or in A.D. 465 to 470, or towards the end of Skanda Gupta's reign. As Skanda Gupta possessed Mâlwa and Gujarât, the *Hûnas* probably came into conflict with the Indians on the Lower Indus.

According to the Chinese writers, the White Huns first appeared in the countries on the Oxus in the beginning of the fifth century, when *Shelun*, the son of the *Tsanyu* (or *Shanyu*) of the *Jwan-jwan* (or *Yuan-Yuan*), retired to the west with his brother. After defeating *Payekhi*, the king of the *Hiungnu*, he gave up the title of *Tsanyu* and assumed that of *Kieu-teu-fa Khâkân*. In 410 A.D. he was defeated by the Wei Tartars, and died during his flight. His brother *Hulu* succeeded him, and was followed in 414 by his nephew *Puluchin*, who was killed by his cousin

<sup>2</sup> Fleet's *Inscriptions of the Guptas*, p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> Beal's *Chinese Pilgrims*, i. 100.

*Tâtân* in 425. The new king began his reign by the invasion of the north-east provinces of Persia; but, being vigorously attacked by the Sassanian king *Varahran V.*, he was defeated and killed near Merv in 428 A.D. His whole camp, with his queen, the *Khâtun*, and his rich crown set with gems, all fell into the hands of the conqueror.

*Tâtân* was succeeded by his son *Uti*, who took the title of *Solien Khan*. He would appear to have been the real founder of the Ephthalite power, as he received a Chinese princess in marriage and gave his own sister to the Emperor of China. He carried on a nine years' war with Isdegerd II. of Persia, from 443 to 451 A.D., and eventually, about 456, forced him to retire to his own dominions to the south of the Oxus. From this time the empire of the White Huns became very powerful until 554, when *Solien-teu-fa Khan* was defeated by *Tumen*, the "Grand Shahu" of the Turks. During this century of their prosperity the dominion of the White Huns was extended on all sides, until, as described by Sung-yun in 520, it embraced all the countries lying between *Persia* on the west and *Khotan* on the east to *Tieh-li* on the south. *Tieh-li* I would identify with *Dahal* or the kingdom of *Chedi* on the *Narbada*, over which *Mihirkul* must have held sway in succession to his father *Toramâna*. During this century about a dozen different kings ruled over the Ephthalites on the Oxus. I now give their names on Chinese authority,<sup>4</sup> as I think it probable that hereafter we may be able to assign to them some of our numerous unread coins.

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<sup>4</sup> D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*.

A.D.	Name.	Title.	Remarks.
402	SHELUN	<i>Kieu-teu-fa-Khâkân</i>	..
410	Hu-lu	Brother of Shelun	..
414	Pu-lu-chin	Nephew of Shelun	Killed by <i>Tâtân</i> .
425	TÂ-TÂN	Cousin of Shelun	{ Killed in battle with Varahran V., 428
428	U-TI	<i>Solien Khan</i>	
443	Tu-ho-chin	<i>Chu-Khan</i>	{ <i>Κοῦνχα</i> of Priscus; war with Isdegerd II.
464	YU-CHIN	<i>Shulo-Puchin Khan</i>	
485	Teu-lun	<i>Fu-ku-shun</i>	{ <i>Khush Nawâz</i> of Fir- dausi; war with Feroz.
492 }	..	<i>Apotilo</i> ; revolts	
494 }	..	<i>Heu-khi-fu-tai</i>	{ <i>Faganish</i> of Firdausi; restored Kobad.
..	No-kai, joint emperor	..	
..	Futu	<i>Ta-khan-Khan</i>	Retires to west with 100,000 followers.
508	Chou-neu	<i>Tu-lo-fu-pe-teu-fa</i>	..
520	Shifa	Rebels	..
521	<i>O-no-wei</i>	<i>So-lien-teu-piu-teu-fa</i>	..
..	<i>Po-lo-men</i>	Joint ruler	..
534	<i>O-no-wei</i>	Sole Khakan	..
546	<i>Ghan-lo-chin</i>	..	Defeated by Turks in 546.
554	..	MUHAN-KHAN	Defeated by Turks in 554. of the TURKS.

The connection of the White Huns with India cannot be traced till near the end of the fifth century, from which time they may be looked upon as a separate branch of the Indo-Scythian conquerors, or the "Indian Ephthalites." Their history, as far as I have been able to trace it, begins with Lae-lih, the father of *Toramâna* and grandfather of *Mihirakula* or *Mihirgul*. Both the last kings were rulers of the Panjâb, and both made conquests in India in the early part of the sixth century A.D., while the main horde remained in possession of the countries to the north of the Indian Caucasus, with Gorgo as their capital (Procopius, A.D. 540). The following points in their history are derived from six different authorities:—

I. *Sung-yun*, Chinese pilgrim, A.D. 520.

In A.D. 520 Sung-yun entered Gandhâra, where he found that the reigning king was an Ephthalite (*Ye-tha-i-li-to*) who *did not believe in Buddha*. He was warlike, and kept 700 war-elephants.<sup>5</sup> Peshawur was on his frontier, and he had been at war with Kipin for three years regarding his boundary. The pilgrim adds that "*it was formerly called the country of Yepolo,*" and that since the conquest by the Yethas, who set up *Lae-lih* to be king, two generations had passed away.

II. *Kosmas Indikopleustes*, A.D. 522—530.

"In India further up the country, *i.e.*, further north, are the White Huns. The king, named *Gollas*, 'tis said, goes forth to war with not less than 1,000 elephants, besides a great force of cavalry. *This ruler tyrannizes over India*. Once when he laid siege to a certain inland city of India, protected all round by water . . . his army drank up all the water, and he took the city."

III. *Hwen Tshang*, Chinese pilgrim, A.D. 630.

In the old town of She-kie-lo [*Śākala* or *Sangala*] formerly reigned King *Mihirakula*. *He ruled over India*, and conquered the neighbouring provinces. *Bālāditya*, king of Magadha, having refused to pay tribute, *Mihirakula* invaded his kingdom. *Bālāditya retired to a morass*. The invader was taken prisoner, and afterwards released. As his brother had established himself in *Śākala*, *Mihirakula* went to Kashmir, where he killed the king,

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<sup>5</sup> Beal, vol. i. p. xcix.

and afterwards did the same in Gandhâra. He persecuted Buddhists, overthrew stûpas, and demolished monasteries.

#### IV. *Târanâth*, History of Buddhism in India.

In the time of *Dharmachandra*, king of Magadha, a Turushka ruled in Kashmir, and *Hunimanta*, king of Persia, ruled over Lahore and Multan. One day, seeing on his queen's dress the footprint mark of the king of Magadha, he was affronted, and invaded the country of Magadha, where he demolished the temples of Buddha. Then Buddhapaksha, Raja of Benares, with the aid of other princes of West and South India, attacked Hunimanta, and killed him, and *re-established the religion of Buddha*.

#### V. *Raja Tarangini*, History of Kashmir.

I. 289.—Mihirakula, son of Mukula, on seeing the golden footprint of the king of Ceylon on his wife's dress, invaded Ceylon and killed the king. He was as cruel as death (*Yama*). He persecuted Buddhists, and built a temple to the sun as *Mihireswara*.

#### VI. *Chach-Nâma*, History of Sindh.

After the capture of Multân by Muhammad Kâsim in A.D. 173, he was informed that "in ancient times there was a chief in this city whose name was *Jibawin* [or *Jabûin*, جبوين], and who was a descendant of the Rai of Kashmir. . . . He made a reservoir on the eastern side of Multân. In the middle of it he built a temple . . . (which contained) an idol made of red gold." This was

the famous temple of the sun-god, which was a great object of worship for many centuries. The popularity of the sun-god of Multân is vouched for by Al Beruni (Sachau, ii. 148, 184). The Sâhis are said to have reigned for 137 years.

*Inscription of TORAMÂNA from Kyura, Panjâb.*

In this inscription from the Salt Range in the North-West Punjâb the king is called *Mahârâja TORAMÂNA Shâha JAÜVLA*. The title of *Jaiüvla* occurs twice. I notice this because on my silver coins it is spelt *Jabubla* or *Jabwla*. The date of this inscription is unfortunately too much injured to be readable.

*Inscription of TORAMÂNA from Eran in Mdlwa.*

The inscription is dated in the *first* year of Mahârâjâdhirâja TORAMÂNA.

*Inscription of MIHIRAKULA from Gwalior Fort.*

This inscription was found by myself in 1844, built into the wall of the fort of Gwalior, near the Suraj-kund. Mr. Fleet describes it as a record of the building of a temple of the sun in the fifteenth year of the reign of MIHIRAKULA, the lord of the earth, the son of TORAMÂNA.

*Inscriptions of YASODHARMAN from Mandasor in Mdlwa.*

In these inscriptions it is recorded that *Yasodharman* possessed countries which "not even the *Guptas* and *Hûnas* could subdue . . . and that homage was done to him by even the famous King MIHIRAKULA." One of



the inscriptions is dated in the *Mâlava* year 589, or A.D. 532.

*Jyotirvidâbharana*, xxii. 17.

"In a great battle he [Vikrama of Ujain] conquered the king of *Sakas* in *Ruma*, paraded his royal prisoner in Ujjayini, and afterwards set him free." As this Vikrama of Mâlwa is said to be the contemporary of Varâha Mihira and the "Nine Gems," we learn that his date was the first half of the sixth century A.D.

*Raja Tarangini*, iii. 125—128, 330.

125. "At the same time [when Pravarasena was young] Srîmân Vikramâditya, also named Harsha, ruled in Ujjayini as Emperor of all India."

128. "Having first destroyed the Sakas," &c.

330. "He [Pravarasena] restored to his father's throne the son of Vikramâditya of (Mâlava), who was named Pratâpaśîla by some, and Śîlâditya by others."

*Hwen Thsang*, Chinese Pilgrim, 629—642 A.D.

"Sixty years ago flourished *Śîlâditya* [King of Mâlava]." As the pilgrim visited Mâlwa in A.D. 640, Śîlâditya's date must be 580 A.D., and his father Vikramâditya's date the first half of the sixth century. The pilgrim also visited Sindh in A.D. 641,<sup>6</sup> when the king was a *Shu-to-lo* or Sudra. But as we know from Sung-yun and Kosmas that the White Huns were then ruling on the Indus, I would suggest that the first syllable, *shu*,

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<sup>6</sup> See *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 566, for this date.

may be a mistake for *fa*, as these two characters are so much alike that they are frequently mistaken. This change would make the name *Fa-tu-lo*, which might be accepted for Ephthala. It is, however, quite possible that the pilgrim may have looked upon a White Hun as a Sudra.

· *Albiruni*, A.D. 1030.

In his account of the Vikrama and Śaka eras, Albiruni gives his opinion that the Vikramāditya, from whom the era got its name, was not identical with that one who killed the Śaka king, but only a namesake. I came to the same conclusion myself when I found at Gyârispur the first inscription dated in the "Era of the Mâlavas" (936 of the Mâlava Kâla), which I at once presumed to be the same as the famous Vikramāditya era (*Archæol. Survey*, x. 34, and Plate XI.). At the same time I hazarded the conjecture, which I communicated to Mr. Fergusson, that the name of Vikramāditya must have been given to the era by the later king of that name, the patron of the "Nine Gems," who reigned in the first half of the sixth century A.D. But Mr. Fergusson went beyond my conjecture, and attributed the original foundation of the era to that king.

TORAMĀṆA.

From a comparison of all these authorities I gather the following facts regarding TORAMĀṆA and his son MIHIRA-KULA:

The leader of the Hūnas, who established himself on the Indus towards the end of the fifth century A.D., was *Lae-lih*, to whom I would assign the silver coin with the

title of *Udayaditya*. His son was TORAMÂṆA, called also Shâha *Jaivla*, or *Jabuvla*, or *Jabula*. He was the *Jabula*, reading جمول for جمون, or the first of the Shâhis, who built the Temple of the Sun in Multân in A.D. 505. This date is established by deducting the duration of the Shâhi rule in Sindh, 137 years, from A.D. 642, when Chach Brahman rebelled and became king of Sindh. In September, 641, when Hwen Thsang was in Sindh, the king was a *Shu-to-lo*, or, as I have suggested, a *Fatulo* or *Ephthalite*, or perhaps the Chinese pilgrim looked upon him as a Sudra.

Some time later, or about 510 A.D., Toramâṇa had extended his rule to Mâlwa. We know certainly that Budha Gupta was still reigning in 165 and 174 of the Gupta era. The former date is on the Eran pillar, and the latter is the date on one of my silver coins. They correspond with 483 and 492 A.D. The inscription of Bhânu Gupta is dated in A. Gupt. 191, or A.D. 509. The colossal boar at Eran was set up in the first year of Toramâṇa, some time after Budha Gupta.

The small silver coins of Toramâṇa of the Gupta type are dated in 52 of some unknown era. The only *era* that seems possible is that of *Śaka*, which a Scythian might be supposed likely to adopt. By adding the omitted hundreds to make 452 Śaka, we get 530 A.D., which is a possible date, although I should have preferred an earlier one. The only remarkable date in the history of the White Huns which I can suggest is the final expulsion of the Sassanians from the countries to the north of the Oxus by Chu-khan in A.D. 456 or 457. If the year 52 be reckoned from this point, we get A.D. 508 or 509 for the establishment of Toramâṇa's rule in Mâlwa.

Toramâṇa's preference for solar worship is shown by

his building a temple to the sun in Multân, and by naming his son *Mihir-kul*.

The silver coins of *Toramâna* are of two distinct classes—(1.) Broad thin pieces of Sassanian type, bearing the king's head on the obverse, with a club in front of the face. The legend is in Indian letters of Gupta type, *Shâhi Jabublah*, and also *Jabula* on others. *Reverse*, traces of fire-altar and attendants. (2.) Small silver hemidrachms, like those of the Guptas, with the king's head on the obverse, and a peacock with expanded tail on the reverse. The king's face is turned in the opposite direction to that of every one of his Gupta predecessors.<sup>7</sup> In front of the face is the date of 52, which I have previously noticed.

The small copper coins attributed to *Toramâna* are found both in the Panjâb and in the country between the Satlej and Jumna. Their attribution is based on the type of the sun with the abbreviated name of *Tora* in large letters. The same sun-type is found on the copper coins of *Mihirakula*, of which a few specimens show the bull struck over the sun emblem.

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<sup>7</sup> Mr. Thomas has drawn attention to this change in the direction of the face, which he considered to be *intentional* (*Dynasty of the Guptas*, p. 51, note). I have also noted it as denoting the change of dynasty. But Mr. Vincent Smith thinks that the change is a mere accident, because on the gold coins the horsemen face the right as well as the left. He has overlooked the fact that *every* single silver coin of the Guptas has the face in the same direction. He has also overlooked the fact that the silver coins were the produce of the Mâlwa mints, while the gold coins were the produce of the Gangetic mints. I would suggest also that where the archers and riders hold the bow or the bridle in the *right* hand, the change must have been due to the carelessness of the die-sinker, and not the ambidextrousness of the kings.

As Toramâṇa was the successor of Budha Gupta in Mâlwa, and also the father of Mihirakula, the contemporary of Bâlâditya (Narasinha Gupta), his date must certainly fall about the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century, or from 490 to 515 A.D., allowing perhaps a few years either way.

### MIHIRGUL OR MIHIRAKULA.

The career of *Mihirgul* or *Mihirakula* may be briefly sketched from a comparison of the different authorities which I have previously quoted.

*Hven Thsang*.—He was the Raja of *Sâkala*, in the Pan-jâb. Having attacked Bâlâditya, king of Magadha, he was taken prisoner, but was afterwards released. On returning to Sâkala, he found his brother on the throne. He then went to Kashmir, of which he became king by treachery, and afterwards occupied Gandhâra.

*Târanâth*.—*Hunimanta*, the foreign king of Lahore and Multân, invaded Dharmachandra of Magadha, but was defeated and killed by the combined troops of Central and Southern India. I take *Hunimanta* to be the leader of the *Hûnas*, and I would identify Dharmachandra with Raja *Yasodharman* of Mâlwa, who records that Mihirakula had paid him homage before A.D. 532.<sup>8</sup>

*Raja Tarangini*.—*Mihirakula* is recorded as having succeeded his father on the throne of Kashmir, and the invasion of Mlecchas during his father's reign probably refers to the *Hûnas*. He is also recorded as being a persecutor of Buddhists and a worshipper of the sun, to whom he

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<sup>8</sup> See inscription from *Mandisor*.

dedicated the temple of *Mihireswara*. During the reign of his father Kashmir was invaded by *Mlecchas*. His father is variously named as *Mukula* or *Vāsukula* or *Vāmakula*.

Kosmas Indikopleustes, who travelled in A.D. 522—530, names the king of the White Huns *Gollas*, whom I would identify with *Mihir-gul*.

In all these different authors I find the record of a great foreign conqueror in the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth century A.D., who ruled over the Panjâb, and invaded Northern India, where he reigned for upwards of fifteen years, as the Gwalior inscription of his minister from the temple of the sun is dated in the fifteenth year of his reign.

As I have already identified his father, *Toramāna*, with *Jabuna* or *Jabula*, the first Scythian king of Sindh, who built the temple of the sun at Multân, so I would now identify his son Mihirkul with *Jabula's* successor, who in the Chach-Nâma is called *Sihiras*. As the original Chach-Nâma must have been written in Indian characters, in which the letters *s* and *m* are so much alike as to be frequently interchanged, I think it very probable that the name of this second Scythian king of Sindh was really *Mihira*, and that he was the *Mihir-kul* of our coins and inscriptions.

All the accounts of Mihir-kul agree in the main points of his career :—

1. He was a foreigner, a *Mleccha* or *Hûna*.
2. He invaded Northern India, at first with success, as we learn by his inscription from Gwalior; but latterly, after at least fifteen years, he was defeated and obliged to retire.
3. He persecuted Buddhists and patronised Brahmans

and their gods, as we see by the bull of *Siva* and the *Vrisha-dhwaja*, or "bull-ensign," on his coins.

4. His rule generally covered the second quarter of the sixth century, or from 515 to 545 or 550 A.D.

The coins of *Mihir-kul* are of several different types. The silver money is of Sassanian fabric, with the king's head on the obverse and the legend in Indian letters, *Jayatu Mihirkula* or *Jayatu Vrisha-dhwaja*. In front of the face is the *Saiva* standard, the *Vrisha-dhwaja*, a "recumbent bull on the top of the staff." On the *reverse* is a rude fire-altar with two attendants.

The small copper coins which are found in the Eastern Panjâb and in Rajputâna are also of Sassanian type. On the *obverse* is the king's head with the legend in Indian characters *Sri Mihirakula*; on the *reverse* a humped bull with the Indian legend *Jayatu Vrisha*, "May the bull be victorious."

The middle-sized copper coins are copies of the previous Kushân types—the king standing with a spear in left hand, and right hand held downwards over a small altar; legend in Indian letters, *Shâhi Mihira-gula*, or simply *Mihira-kula*; *reverse*, the goddess Lakshmi seated with cornucopiæ.

The large copper coins present the Raja on horseback with the Indian legend *Mihirakula*; *reverse*, the goddess Lakshmi.

With regard to the supposed identity of the Toramânas of Eran and Gwalior with the Toramâna of Kashmir, which was originally advocated by Rajendradâl and Bhau Dâji, I may say that I cannot conceive it to be possible for the following reasons:—

1. The *Toramâna* of Kashmir, according to the *Raja Taranginî*, was never a king, but died in the prison where

he was put by his brother for striking the coins which we now possess. The Scythian Toramâna was a powerful king, who ruled over the valley of the Indus, both Panjâb and Sindh, and afterwards conquered Mâlwa, where small silver coins of Gupta type were struck in his name and a colossal boar set up in the first year of his reign. Eventually he left his kingdom to his son Mihirkul, who held it for at least fifteen years.

2. The son of the Kashmir *Toramâna* was *Pravarasena*, who is also described as a great conqueror; but if the two *Toramânas* were the same person, then *Pravarasena* must have been *Mihirakula* himself. But there is this difference between the two, that Mihirkul was eventually defeated by Yasodharma, king of Mâlwa, whereas *Pravarasena* re-established on his throne *Sîlâditya*, the expelled son of the king of Mâlwa.

3. The coins of *Pravarasena*, both in gold and silver, show him to have belonged to the *Kidâra* Kushâns, as they present the name of *Kidâra* in beautifully-formed letters written perpendicularly, as on all the Kidarite coins. Lastly, I may observe that the earlier *Toramâna*, like all the White Huns, has his hair cut short, while the Kashmir *Toramâna* has bushy hair like his ancestor *Kidâra*, as copied from the Sassanian kings.

4. I may note also that the characters of the Kashmir coins are of a later date than the others. This is most clearly shown in the attached *â* and *o*, which are simple prolongations of the *mâtras* of the *t* and *m*, instead of marks placed above those letters, as in the *Kyûra* and *Eran* inscriptions of the other *Toramâna*. I note also that the letter *r* has a turn up at the foot on the Kashmir coins of *Toramâna* and his son *Pravarasena*, which is not found on the others. These differences are clearly shown



in the plate of inscriptions under the head of TORAMĀṆA —A and C.

The great Indian empire of the Hūnas, under Mihirkul, would appear to have been overthrown by a combined attack of the Hindu princes under Vikramāditya of Mālwa and Bālāditya (Nara Sinha Gupta) of Magadha. The scene of his defeat is placed in *Ruma*, in the traditionary account which is attributed to Varāha Mihira, and he is said by Al Beruni to have been killed in his flight "in the region of Karûr, between Multân and the castle of Loni."<sup>9</sup> The castle of Loni is a small fort close to Delhi, which was besieged by Timur, but it is so close to Delhi that the natural description of the position of Karûr would have been between Multân and Delhi. I conjecture the river *Loni*, or the "Salt Stream," was really intended, because it rises in the country of *Ruma*, or the salt district of Sâmbhar, in which the battle is said to have taken place. *Kalwâr* is a large town to the west of the Satlej, between Multân and Bahâwalpur. If Mihirkul was defeated near Ajmer in the Ruma country, he would naturally have fled towards the strong fortress of Multân.

#### TRIBAL NAME.

The first notice of the tribal name of the White Huns of India I take to be the *Ye-po-lo* of the pilgrim Sungyun, who says that Gandhâra was *formerly* called "the country of *Ye-po-lo*," over which the *Yethas* had placed *Lae-lih* as king two generations before his time.<sup>10</sup> As the king then on the throne had been reigning for at least

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<sup>9</sup> Sachau's *Albiruni*, ii. 6.

<sup>10</sup> Beal's *Chinese Pilgrims*, I., Introd, p. xcix.

three years, his accession may be fixed about A.D. 515, and that of *Lae-lih* at fifty years earlier, or 465 A.D. I suppose that on this occupation the country was first called after the name of the conquerors *Jabula* (= *Ye-po-lo*), which was either the name or the tribe of *Toramâna*, as we learn from the Kyura inscription found in the Salt Range of the Panjâb. In this inscription *Toramâna* is called *Mahârâjâ TORAMÂNA Shâha Jaiüvla*. On my silver coins the name is spelt *Jabubla* and *Jabula*, each preceded by the royal title of *Shâhi*. This at once recalls the name of *Jabun* or *Jabul*, the first king of Multân, who built the temple of the sun.<sup>11</sup> As he was not a Brahman, he must have belonged to the *Shâhi* dynasty, which preceded the Brahman Chach. As his date is fixed by subtracting the 137 years of the *Shâhi* dynasty from A.D. 642, the date of Chach's accession, we get A.D. 505 for the accession of *Jabul*, the builder of the temple of the sun, who must therefore be the same person as *Diraij*, the founder of the *Shâhi* dynasty in Sindh. But as *Toramâna Jabula Shâhi*, the father of *Shâhi Mihirkul*, was reigning at that very time, I have no hesitation in identifying him with the *Jabula Diraij* of Multân. To this tribe also I would assign the name of *Zâbulistân* of the early Muhammadan writers. In fact, on several of the later coins of the Ephthalite rulers of Arachosia the name of *Zaülistân* is found in the marginal Pahlavi legends. The people of *Zâbulistân* spoke a language of their own called *Zâüli*, which was distinct from the *Hîriwi* of Herat, from the *Sakzi* of Sejistân or Sakastân, and from the *Sughdi* of Sughd or Sogdiana.

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<sup>11</sup> *Elliot's Muhammadan Historians*, by Dowson, i. 205. The name is variously written as *Jabun* and *Jabur*, for which I propose *Jabul*. The change is very slight in Persian characters.

The great power of the White Huns in the countries to the north of the Indian Caucasus lasted for just one century, or from A.D. 455, when they drove Isdegerd II. to the south of the Oxus, down to A.D. 554, when they were subjugated by TUMEN, the Khâkân of the Turks. But they had already established a vast empire over all the countries to the south of the Caucasus, from the shores of the Caspian to the banks of the Satlej, and for a short time even to the banks of the Ganges. The great western extension of their power began with the defeat and death of the Sassanian king, Feroz, in A.D. 483, and lasted until the conquests of the Muhammadans in the eighth century.

The White Huns have been described by Gibbon<sup>12</sup> as "a polite and warlike people, who possessed the commercial cities of Bokhara and Samarkand, who had vanquished the Persian monarch, and carried their victorious arms along the banks, and perhaps to the mouth of the Indus." The doubt of our great historian is now cleared away by the discovery of coins which declare that the White Huns possessed the great cities of Multân and Bahmana in Sindh. From the same source we learn that they also possessed the neighbouring countries of Zâbulistân and Khorasân. The western extension of the Ephthalite dominion to the shores of the Caspian is confirmed by the historian Procopius, who, writing in A.D. 550, states that they held the country to the north of Persia, with *Gorgo* as their capital. As *Gorgo* or *Gurgân* was the chief city of Hyrkania, the White Huns must have occupied the whole province of Khorasân. According to Yakut, their capital was *Bâdghîs*, which the Chinese call *Pa-ti-yan* or *Wang-she-ching*, the "town of the king's

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<sup>12</sup> *Decline and Fall*, c. 42.

house.”<sup>13</sup> Their conquest of the country to the south is confirmed by Masudi, who describes *Zābulistān* as the “kingdom of Firoz,” that is, the portion of Persia which was occupied by the *Jabuli* or *Zabuli* tribe of the White Huns.

The historian Gibbon describes the letters in the Scythian character and language which Maniach, prince of the Sogdoites, delivered to Justin II. on the part of Dizabulus, the Khâkân of the Turks, as announcing “a people who had attained the rudiments of science.” But as the Turks were an illiterate people, I would ascribe the “Scythian characters” to the cultured Kushâns rather than to the illiterate White Huns, as the Kushâns still formed the bulk of the population of all the countries on the Oxus. In the following century no less than ten of their petty princes claimed descent from the *Shaowu* WEN, the great Kushân conqueror of India, and I believe that Maniach was only one of these tributary chiefs.<sup>14</sup> In A.D. 630, when the pilgrim Hwen Thsang passed through the province occupied by the White Huns (or *Hematala* = *Hephtala*), the population was quite insignificant.<sup>15</sup> It was only three hundred *li* or fifty miles in circuit. The *Varchuni* or White Hun had, in fact, been driven out of the country by Dizabul and his successors.

The kings of the three Indo-Scythian races, the *Tokhari* or Great Kushâns, the *Kidaritæ* or Little Kushâns, and the *Ephthalites* or White Huns, all took the title of Shâhi. The coins of the first, at least all the earlier coins, can be easily recognised; but as the *Kidâras* and the White

<sup>13</sup> Edouard Specht, *Études sur l'Asie Centrale—Indo-Scythes et Ephthalites*, p. 24, note 4.

<sup>14</sup> Remusat, *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, i. 225; *Kings of Sogdiana*, &c.

<sup>15</sup> Beal's *Chinese Pilgrims*, ii. 290.

Huns were contemporaries from about the middle of the fifth century, there is some difficulty in distinguishing them.

Both peoples adopted the Sassanian types for all their silver coins, and both adhered to the old Kushân types for their copper money. But the White Huns have left no gold coins, while the gold money of the Kidâras of the old Kushân types is very common.

Most of the Ephthalite silver coins are distinguished by a peculiar symbol  $\text{𐬵}$ , which is not found upon any of the known Little Kushân coins, while it occurs on several pieces of the Ephthalite kings, beginning with those of *Jâbula Shâhi*, or *Toramâna*. It is also found on my unique coin of *Khingila*, who was one of the Hûna successors of *Mihirkul* as suzerain of Kashmir.

Again, there are two distinct types of legend even in the Indian inscriptions. Thus some coins of *Mihirkul* give him the simple title of *Sri* preceding the name, whilst others have *jayatu Mihirakula*. Others, again, bear the Scythian form of *Shâhi Mihiragula*.

One peculiarity observable in all the early Ephthalite coins is that the obverse alone has been struck upon one of the current Sassanian coins, and that in consequence the old Sassanian reverse has been nearly obliterated. In many cases the relief of the obverse king's head would appear to have been obtained by punching up from the other side of the coin. This process has left a sunken copy of the head on the reverse.

The question now arises whether any of our numerous Ephthalite coins can be assigned to the "Great Khâkân" of the White Huns, who ruled over the horde in the countries to the north of the Indian Caucasus? As they were an illiterate people, they would almost certainly

have adopted the Scytho-Greek alphabet of their predecessors, the Kushâns and Scytho-Sassanians. I possess a few specimens of this description. Two coins of this class from the Hidda Tope were published in *Ariana Antiqua*. The difference did not escape Wilson, who says of one, Pl. XVI. 9 and 10, that "the *peculiar* characters differ from Pahlavi;" and of another, Pl. XVI. 20, that the "characters are *perhaps* intended for Pahlavi."

A single coin in my cabinet, Pl. VII. 2, which is clearly copied from the money of Varahran IV., A.D. 388—399, as the king has a single bird's wing on his head-dress, presents a short legend of two lines in what appear to me to be corrupt Greek characters. The upper line appears to give the title of *Shâhi*, and the lower one looks like  $\Lambda\text{IIZOBOA}$ , or, by omitting the strokes on the left, simply  $\text{ZOBOA}$ . *Dizabul* or *Shapolio* was the Grand Khâkân of the Turks, whose grandfather had subjugated the White Huns on the Oxus. But his date is perhaps too late, and I rather incline to read *Shâhi Zobol* for *Shâhi Zâbul*, the king of the *Jâbuli* branch of the White Huns—that is, *Toramâna Shah Jâbula*, who conquered the Panjâb, Sindh, and Mâlwa about the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century A.D. There are several undoubted coins of this king with Indian characters, which will be mentioned presently.

Amongst Masson's Hidda Tope coins there are two which have debased Greek legends, one of which also has the Ephthalite symbol. Of the first, Wilson gave two specimens (*Ariana Antiqua*, Pl. XVI. 9—10). I have two specimens of this coin, which differ from Masson's in wanting the lunar crescent behind the head. The legends also slightly differ, although they are probably intended for the same.

Of Wilson's second coin (*Ariana Antiqua*, XVI. 20), I have one specimen which has the legend on the left rather more perfect. The head-dress is no longer Sassanian, but appears to be a helmet with flaps or side-pieces. The bust faces the left, and is supported on a double-branched ornament, similar to that on the gems and seals of Shahpur I. The legend seems to be intended for *Shahano Shah Zoobol*. The bust is in very high relief, which has been attained by the very deep repoussé of the reverse.

The only other coins which possess the same apparently Greek legends are smaller in size, and perhaps of somewhat later date. They have the king's bust on the obverse, with various Indian symbols in front of the face. One has the *discus* and *shell* of Vishnu; a second has the *trident* of Siva and *shell* of Vishnu; a third has the *trident* of Siva springing out of a lotus flower. All have the Sassanian fire-altar on the reverse, but always nearly obliterated.

Another class of these smaller coins presents the king on horseback on the obverse, with the same debased Greek legend. The reverse is always very imperfect. On my best specimen there is a large wheel, which may be the *discus* of Vishnu.

Other coins with the king on horseback have Indian legends reading *Shâhi Jabula*. My second specimen seems to read *Shâhi Janabula*, perhaps for *Jañbula*. The two coins in the plate are the only specimens of this kind that I have seen. But they are of great interest, as they both bear the Ephthalite symbol, and their Indian legends confirm my readings of the debased Greek legends previously described. The accessory ornaments also are repeated in the *discus* and *shell* of Vishnu of the same pattern as on the bust coins.

The next coins are of peculiar interest, as they point to Kashmir as a portion of the dominions of the Ephthalite king *Jabula* or *Jabwla*, who is clearly the same as the *Jaiwla* of the inscription of Toramâna *Jaiwla* from the Salt Range in the Panjâb. Three of these coins are so much alike in type and size and general fabric that they must almost certainly belong to the same people and the same country. Their legends are—1. *Shâhi Jabwla*; 2. *Deva Shâhi Khinggila*; 3. *Raja Lakhana* (?) *Udayâditya*. The peculiar name of *Khingkhila* is found in the *Raja Tarangini* (i. 349) as one of the *Rajas* of Kashmir closely following *Mihirkul*. As he was also known as *Narendrâdiya*, we learn that these Scythian kings had adopted Indian titles, from which I infer that *Udayâditya* and *Pûrvvâditya* (both meaning "Lord of the East") may be only the titles of other *Scythian* kings of Kashmir. But they were the supreme monarchs of an extensive empire, of which Kashmir was only a tributary province.

There is also a small class of copper coins, which I would assign to *Toramâna Jabula*. They bear a king's head of Sassanian aspect on the obverse, and a *chakra*, or *sun-wheel*, on the reverse, with the Indian legend *TORA* in bold letters. The same legend is found on some of the smaller silver coins, with the name of *ЗОΒΛΑ*, or *Jabula*. The same symbol is found also on the Indian copper coins of *Mihirkul*, which bear his name in Indian letters of the Gupta period. It occurs also on a single coin of *Vala* [ditya]. I observe that the peculiar symbol, which is rarely absent from any of the broad silver coins of these Ephthalite kings, does not appear on any of their undoubted Indian coins which are found in the Eastern Panjâb and Rajputâna. A single specimen of the Sun Type, with *TORA* below (in the cabinet of Mr. Theobald),



has a Scythian archer on the obverse. This is certainly a Scythian type (*see* Plate VII. 17).

The silver coins of Mihirkul are exceedingly rare, while his copper coins are not uncommon. The copper coins of the Western Panjâb are all of the Kushân type, with the standing king and seated goddess Lakshmi; but the few silver coins and all the Eastern Panjâb copper pieces bear a Sassanian-looking bust of the king, with the bull and trident of Siva. His devotion to Siva is also strongly marked by the legends of *Jayatu Vrisha-dhwaja* and *Jayatu-Vrisha*. In the Raja Tarangini he is described as a persecutor of Buddhists.

A few copper coins of the Kushân type, with the title of Shâhi, give the names of *Hiranya-kula* and *Jara*. The latter name seems to be incomplete, but four coins of different issues offer nothing further. On one of these the goddess Lakshmi is seated on a *Sinhâsan*, or "lion-throne." These coins I would assign to Gândhâra.

The coins from Pl. VIII. 14 to Pl. IX. 13 nearly all present the Ephthalite symbol, and all save one have Indian legends. The names of *Bhârana* or *Jârana* and *Triloka*, the titles of *Pûrvâditya* and *Deva-Shâhi*, are all clear enough, and so is the legend of *Jayatu Sri Narendra* on the two copper coins Pl. IX. 12 and 13. But all that can be said about them is, that they must have flourished during the sixth and seventh centuries in the countries bordering upon India, or even in North-West India itself.

After these I have brought together all the latest specimens which bear the Ephthalite symbol. Some of them have Indian legends, of which the most remarkable is No. 16. I read it as *Jayatu Bayâr Khotalan*. A district named *Khotalan* is to the north of the Caucasus. The

coins Nos. 18 and 19, which bear native legends, present exactly the same head as on Nos. 20, 21, and 22, which have the simple Indian legend *Sri Shâhi*. I infer, therefore, that the native legend must give the equivalent of *Sri Shâhi*. The latter part of it certainly seems to read *Shono* in debased Greek letters. In support of this reading I may refer to a crystal seal in my possession, with the Indian legend *Shânê* on the left side, and the debased Greek *Shaono* on the right.<sup>16</sup> The coin (Pl. X. 2) bears exactly the same legend as that on Figs. 3 and 4. It is Pahlavi, which Mr. Thomas read as *Nipki Malka*. I prefer *Napki* as the name, and I would ascribe these coins to the king of *Kipin* (or Kophene = Arakhosia), who is mentioned by the Chinese as wearing "un bonnet fait en tête de bœuf."<sup>17</sup> The coins in the plate, Nos. 3 and 4, which present a buffalo's head surmounting the king's head-dress, seem to correspond with this description; but the same name is found on No. 2, which has a simple head-dress surmounted by three tridents or *trisuls*. These coins apparently belong to the middle of the seventh century. Ghazni was the capital of Kipin.

The coins in Plate X., Nos. 5—11, are all bilingual or trilingual, the various legends being in Indian *Nâgari*, Persian *Pahlavi*, and some unknown Scythian characters. Figs. 5 and 6 present a short Indian inscription of two lines on the reverse, which is so imperfectly formed that it has hitherto baffled all attempts to decipher it. It begins with *Sri*.

Fig. 7 has also a short *Nâgari* inscription of two lines, which was read by Wilson as *Sri Bahmana Vâsu Deva*.

<sup>16</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1893. Pl. X. 1.

<sup>17</sup> Remusat, *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, i. 211.

The word read as *Bahmana* is uncertain, but I can suggest nothing better. I believe that it refers to the famous capital of Sindh called *Bâhmanwâsi* by the Hindus, and afterwards *Brâhmanâbâd* by the Muhammadans. It was the "city of Brahmans" of Alexander's historians. Vâsu Deva must have been the king of Sindh. The marginal legends on both sides are in Scythian characters.

The remaining coins of Plate X. are remarkable as presenting the same bust on the reverse, which many years ago I identified with the famous "sun-god" of Multân, as the head is rayed. With these I compare a coin of Khusrû II. Parvez of Persia, dated in the year 37 of his reign, or A.D. 628. In the native histories he is said to have invaded territories of the Indian king, who fell in battle against him. I conjecture that this coin may have been struck to commemorate this victory.

No. 9 coin has long been known for its trilingual inscriptions. Two specimens were obtained by Ventura in the great Stûpa of Mânikyâla. The principal inscription is the marginal legend of the obverse in the Indian language and Nâgari letters. On the same side, in front of the face, there is a short legend in Scythian characters. The legends on the reverse are all in Persian Pahlavi. A large number of these coins have been found in different places on both sides of the Indus. Two specimens were obtained by Ventura in the Mânikyâla Stûpa. Dr. Lord got forty to the north of the Caucasus. I have received some twenty or thirty from Kabul, and I am aware that a few have been found in Sindh and Kacch. The letters of the Nâgari legend vary a little in some of the shapes, but my reading of the whole legend agrees substantially with that of James Prinsep. Thomas made one important suggestion in the

reading of *Shâhi* for Prinsep's *Vâhi*. I give their two readings for comparison with my own :—

Prinsep—*Sri hitivira Airâna cha parameswara Sri Vahitigân devajânita.*

Thomas—*Sri hitivira kharala cha parameswara Sri Shâhitina devanârita.*

Author—*Sri Hitivi cha Airân cha parameswara Sri Shâhi-Tigin Devajârita.*

I have seen a great number of these coins, and I still possess twenty-six specimens. I am now able to say decidedly that the name of the king is *Tigin*, the *gi* being very clear on several of my coins. *Shâhi* is the well-known Scythian title for “king”; and *Devajâ*, or “son of heaven,” was an Indian title adopted by Scythians as well as by Sassanians. The Pahlavi legends on the reverse have been read by Thomas as follows :—

To left, *Saf-Tansaf-Tef* ; to right, *Takân Khorasân Malkâ*.

For *Tansaf* I propose to read *Takhif*, thus making *Saf Takhif Tef* the equivalent of *Shâhi Tagina Deva*. Similarly I take *Takân Khorasân Malkâ* to be the equivalent of *Hitivi cha Airân parameswara*, the “king of India and Persia.” *Tâkan* or *Tâki* was the name of the Panjâb, with its capital cities of *Tâki-shahr* or Taxila, Sâkala or Sangala, and Multân. The name of the king was preserved in the famous city of *Takînâbâd* on the Helmand, which, according to the Tabakât-i-Nâsiri, was the largest town in Garmsir. It is noticed by Nâsir-uddin-Tûsi and Ulug Beg under the erroneous name of *Takniâbâd* by the misplacement of the points. The Tabakât-i-Nâsiri has *Takînâbâd*.

The possession of Khorâsân and Zâbulistân by the White Huns dates from the defeat and death of the

Sassanian king Firoz in A.D. 483, when the conquerors took possession of those provinces and made *Gorgo* (Gurgân) their capital. Upwards of three centuries later, when the country was visited by Masudi, Zâbulistân was still known as the "kingdom of Firoz." As the head-dress of *Shâhi Tugîn* is a simple tiara surmounted by a lion's head, he must be placed before the time of Khusru II. Parvez. I would therefore identify him with *Diwâij II.*, the *Shâhi-shâhin* of the Chach-Nâma, and I would fix his reign to about 565 to 595 A.D.

The next coin of this class, No. 10 of the plate, bears the name of the king *Sri Vâsu Deva* in Indian characters, with several Pahlavi legends on both sides. The first step in reading these difficult legends was made by Olshausen. A further advance was made by Thomas, who succeeded in finding the name of the king *Vâsu Deva*, in the Pahlavi *Varsu Tef*; but the decipherment of the whole is still incomplete. His readings were:—

OBSERVE	{	Left, <i>Afzût</i> (= increase) ; right, <i>Saf Varsu Tef</i> .
		Margin, <i>Pun-shami dât</i> (In nomine justî judicis). <i>Saf Varsao Tef-Wahman ach Multân malkâ.</i>
REVERSE	{	Left, <i>Panchai Zâulistân</i> ; right, <i>Sri Vâsu Deva</i> .
		Margin (not read).

Thomas felt some doubt about the reading of *Panchai* on the left reverse. I differ from his reading, as the first letter is T, and not P. I read the word as *Tukân* in conjunction with *Zâulistân*, and I believe it to be intended for the Panjâb or *Tâkan*, of which *Tâki-shahr*, or Taxila, was the capital. Of the reverse marginal legend I cannot make anything certain. I read doubtfully *Sapardalak-shân* for *Sapâdalaksha* or Rajputâna (Sawâlak).

The coins of Vâsu Deva are still very scarce, only six specimens being known to me. The king's head-dress is

a direct copy of the double-winged crown of Khusru Parvez, and the coins have the same crescents and stars in the margin. As the ruler of Multân and the contemporary of Parvez, I incline to identify him with Rai Siharas of Sindh, who was attacked by the king of Nimroz or Sejistan and killed in battle, apparently on the frontier of Mekrân. If the coin of Khusru Parvez with the Multân sun-god on the reverse was struck on this occasion, the date on the coin, the year 37 of his reign, or A.D. 628, would be also the date of Vâsu Deva's death.

The last king of Sindh, called Rai Sâhasi, was the son of the opponent of Parvez. In the British Museum there is a unique copper coin of the sun-god type which I would attribute to this king. It has the same double-winged head-dress, but the legends appear to be partly in Scythian characters and partly in Pahlavi. The margins on both sides are occupied by the Scythian legends, which are at present quite unintelligible. But in the two Pahlavi legends of the reverse I read on the left of the head *Sapardalakshân*, and to the right *Zâülistân*.

*Sapâdalaksha*, or "one lakh and a quarter," was the old name of Rajputâna. The shortened form was *Sawalakh*, which is still preserved in the present form of *Sawâlik*. The early Muhammadan writers describe *Mandor*, the old capital of Mârwâr, as being in Sawâlik. Ajmer also was in it, and Hânsi is specially mentioned as the capital of Sawâlik. The name is said to have been derived from the great number of scattered hills in the country, for which 125,000 is a significant expression. *Sapâdalaksha* is mentioned as the territory of King Asoka-balla in my Buddha Gayâ inscriptions of the twelfth century, before the Muhammadan occupation.

Our knowledge of the early history of Sindh prior to

the Muhammadan conquest is derived from two native histories, the *Chach-Nâma* and the *Tuhfat al Kirâm*. The *Chach-Nâma* was originally written in Arabic to record the conquest of Sindh by the Arabs under Muhammad Kâsim in A.D. 713, but only a Persian translation now exists. The work must have been written before A.D. 753, as there is no mention of the Muhammadan city of Mansûra, which was founded during the reign of the Khalif Al Mansûr. It is therefore almost a contemporary record of the conquest, which transferred the possession from Râja Dâhir, the son of the Brahman Raja Chach, to the Muhammadans. It begins with a brief notice of the three kings of the Rai dynasty who preceded Chach. The *Tuhfat al Kirâm* gives two additional reigns, and states that the reigns of the five Rais lasted for 137 years.

For the accession of Chach we possess two statements, which agree in fixing it not earlier than 641 A.D. The first is the length of the two reigns of Chach and his son Dahir, or  $40 + 33$  lunar years = 73 lunar years or 71 solar years, and as Dahir was killed on the 11th Ramzân A.H. 93, or 21st June 712 A.D., the accession of Chach must have taken place in  $712 - 71 = 641$  A.D. The second authority is the statement of the pilgrim Hwen Thsang that when he visited Sindh in September 641 A.D., the ruler was a *Shu-to-lo* or Sudra. At that time, therefore, the last king of the Rai dynasty was still reigning. Deducting 137 years from 642, we get 505 A.D. as the date of the accession of the Rai dynasty. The following list gives the names of the kings of the Rai dynasty, with the names derived from coins for comparison—all of them had the title of Shâhi-shâh. Their rule was not confined to the province of Sindh, but embraced all the neighbouring

countries up to the frontiers of Kirmân on the west, up to the foot of the Kashmir hills on the north, and up to the boundary of the kingdom of Kanauj on the east. These limits were maintained to the last, as I find that Chach went to Mekrân to settle the boundary of *Kirmân* with Persia, and to Shâkalhâ or Sâkala to settle the boundary with *Kashmir*. On the east the ruler of *Chitrâwar* or Chitor is said to have been a relative and ally of Rai Sâhasi. The Indian dominions of the Ephthalites formed a mighty empire, the rival of Persia both in power and wealth.


A.D.	<i>Tuhfat-ai-Kirâm.</i>	<i>Chach-Nâma.</i>	Coins.
505	Rai Diwâij I.	..	Shâhi Jabubal = TORAMÂNÂ.
535	Rai Siharas.	..	Shâhi Mihirgul = GOLLAS.
565	Rai Sâhasi.	Rai Diwâij II.	Shâhi Tigin Devaja.
595	Rai Siharas II.	Rai Siharas.	— Vâsu Deva.
627	Rai Sâhasi II.	Rai Sâhasi.	— — ? name not read.

The ancient title of the Ephthalite kings was *Tsanyu* or *Chanyu*, which was changed for *Khâkân*, or *χαγάνος* as written by the Greeks. But just like the Sassanian kings, who call themselves by the foreign title of *Malkân-malkâ* instead of by their native one of Shâhân Shâh, so these White Huns preferred the Kushân and Indian titles of Shâhi and Maharaja to their own title of Khâkân. Both Toramâna and his son Mihirkul, who were certainly White Huns, take the title of Maharaja and Shâhi written in Indian characters.

About the middle of the sixth century A.D. the White Huns were conquered by Muhan Khan, the chief of the great Turkish horde, who sent an embassy to Constantinople under Maniach, Prince of the Sogdoites. His letter in the Scythian character and language was received by



Justin in 569 A.D. A return embassy was sent by Tiberius in 582; but on its arrival in 584, they found that the Emperor *Shapelo* or *Disabul* was dead. In 588 his successor, *Shahu Khan*, sent a letter to the Emperor Maurice. As Prince of the Sogdoites, Maniach must have been only a tributary chief, either a Kushân or an Ephthalite; his letter in the Scythian character must have been in the corrupted Greek characters which were common to both. As late as the ninth century the ruler of Mawarunnahr is called king of the Kushâns by Khordâdbah.

Unfortunately, we have no coins that can be certainly attributed to the Ephthalite kings of the Oxus. The coins with the  symbol, which I believe to belong to the White Huns, may be divided into two classes:—

1. Those with legends in unknown characters.
2. Those with legends in Indian letters.

Specimens of each kind were found together by Masson in No. 10 Hidda Tope. Similarly, in a parcel of about eighty of these Scytho-Sassanian coins that came to me together, I found some of each kind. The only difference that I could perceive was in a few specimens of No. 1 class, which were certainly of earlier date than any of the No. 2 class; I refer particularly to *Ariana Antiqua*, Plate XVI. Figs. 9 and 10, on which the king's head-dress is copied from the Sassanian coins of Sapor III., A.D. 383—388. The characters look like debased Greek; they are certainly not Pahlavi or Indian. A single coin with the winged head-dress of Varahran IV., A.D. 420—440, has similar characters, which might be read by taking the two lines, Boustrophedon fashion, as *Sholono-Bozino* for *Shulopachin*, the famous *Khush-narâz* of Persian history, who defeated the Sassanian Firoz in A.D. 482. He is called *Fizun* by Firdausi.

These coins I would assign to the northern branch of Ephthalites on the Oxus, as I believe that the debased Greek characters had already been given up by the southern branch of the Ephthalites on the Indus. The earliest certain coins of the Indian Ephthalites are the silver pieces of Toramâna and his son Mihirkul, both of whom take the title of *Shâhi* instead of *Khâkân*. The coins of Udayâditya and Khinggila belong to the same period.

Since writing this paper, I have found a direct proof that the Sâhasi kings of Sindh were White Huns. Elliot<sup>18</sup> quotes Khâki Shirâzi, who says: "In the year 22 the province of Sejistan was conquered . . . , and in the same year Makrân was subdued. . . . The ruler of that province, whose name in the language of the country was *Zambil*, was also ruler of *Sind*." The year A.H. 22 began on 30th November A.D. 642. The conquest of Chach Brahman may therefore have taken place in A.D. 643. Vivien St. Martin assigns it to 644 A.D. Perhaps it is this *Zambil*, ruler of Sind, who is referred to by Masudi (Elliot II., 418), as the "Prince, named Ranbil, who reigned in the *valley of the Indus*, and who, after subjugating E. Persia, advanced to the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates."

This name of *Zambil* is only another variant of the *Zanbil*, *Zanbol*, *Ranbil*, *Ranbol*, &c., which is given to the kings of Kabul and Sistan by all the early Muhammadan writers. One of my coins with the horseman obverse has *Janbula* in Nâgari letters. This is, of course, the true Indian form of the Scythian *Zanbol* or Zabul, as the Indian alphabets have no z.

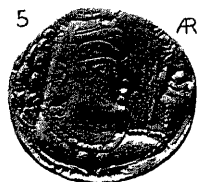
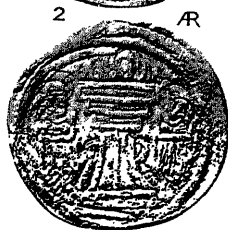
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<sup>18</sup> *Muhammadan Historians*, ii. 418.

## COINS OF THE WHITE HUNS.

## PLATE VII.

No.	Metal.	Wt. Grs.	
1	Æ	60	<p>UNASSIGNED ZABULI COINS.</p> <p>Author, 2 coins; <i>Ariana Antiqua</i>, xvi. 10, from Hidda Tope.</p> <p>Head of king to right; Sassanian head-dress like Sapor II.; Ephthalite symbol in front of face. Legend in unread characters.</p> <p>Rev.—Indistinct remains of fire altar and attendants.</p> <p>N.B.—Nearly all of the Ephthalite coins have been Sassanian pieces restruck only on the obverse side, which has nearly obliterated the reverse original.</p>
2	Æ	49	<p>Author, unique, copied from money of Varahran IV.</p> <p>Head of king to right, with wing on head-dress. Legend in corrupt Greek letters, perhaps intended to represent <i>Shoono Zobol</i>.</p> <p>Rev.—Indistinct remains of fire altar and attendants.</p>
3	Æ	55	<p>Author, <i>Ariana Antiqua</i>, xvi. 20.</p> <p>Head of king to left, with tall helmet; trident before face.</p> <p>To left, some unread characters; to right, in corrupt Greek characters, <b>ΠΔΟ</b> <b>ZOBOA</b> = <i>Shao Zobol</i>.</p> <p>Rev.—Indistinct remains of fire altar and attendants.</p> <p>H. H. Wilson, <i>Ariana Antiqua</i>, p. 399, suggests that the characters are perhaps intended for Pahlavi. He notices that all these coins are of rude fabric, and slightly concave on the reverse, which is always very indistinct.</p>
4	Æ	50	<p>Author, 0.95 inch.</p> <p>Beardless head of king to right, with crescent on front of head-dress; a jewelled circle</p>





## PLATE VII.

No.	Metal.	Wt. Grs.	and a shell to right. Legend in corrupt Greek letters, × × <b>ZOBOA</b> . <i>Rev.</i> —Indistinct fire altar.
5	Æ	52	Author, 0·90 inch. Beardless head of king to right, with crescent ; trident and shell to right. Remains of corrupt Greek legend, same as on No. 4. <i>Rev.</i> —Indistinct.
6	Æ	55	Author, 0·85 inch. Horseman to right, with crescent on helmet ; large shell to right. Remains of Greek legend, same as No. 4. <i>Rev.</i> —Indistinct. Remains of Indian legend clear, <i>yatu</i> (Jayatu). N.B.—These three coins I suppose to belong to the Zabuli tribe of White Huns before their occupation of the Kabul Valley. Or they may belong to <i>Lae-lih</i> , the leader of the expedition to the south of the Indian Caucasus. The coins still bear the corrupt Greek characters, but as they also bear the shell of Vishnu and the trident of Siva, they show some connection with India. Their date would be about 560 to 590 A.D.
7	Æ	55	Author, 0·85 inch ; a plated coin. See <i>Prinsep's Antiquities</i> , xxxiii. Fig. 1. Horseman to right, crescent on helmet, Ephthalite symbol to right. Legend unread, but may be corrupt Greek beginning with <b>ZOBOAA</b> to left. Prinsep's coin has the symbol behind the horse. <i>Rev.</i> —Large ornamental wheel ; traces of <i>Jayatu</i> in Indian letters. N.B.—I have two other specimens: <i>One</i> like Prinsep's, with vase in front of horse, and traces of <i>Jayatu</i> on reverse. The <i>other</i> with a <i>shell</i> in front of horse, and <i>yatu</i> ( <i>Jayatu</i> ) very distinct. This Indian word in Indian letters connects these horseman coins with India.

## PLATE VII.

No.	Metal.	Wt. Grs.	
8	Æ	53	<p>SHAHI—JABUL OR JAMBUL.</p> <p>Author, 0·90 inch ; unique.</p> <p>King on horseback to right ; shell over horse's head, with star above. Behind the king the Ephthalite symbol. Indian legend, <i>Shahi Jabûla</i>.</p> <p>Rev.—Fire altar with an attendant on each side.</p>
9	Æ	50·5	<p>Author, 0·80 inch ; unique.</p> <p>King on horseback to right, with crescent on helmet ; club over head of horse ; Ephthalite symbol behind king. Indian legend, <i>Shahi Janbûla</i>.</p> <p>Rev.—Fire altar with two attendants ; very rude.</p>
10	Æ	56	<p>SHAHI JABUVLA.</p> <p>Author, 1·0 inch ; unique. Other specimens differ.</p> <p>Beardless head of king to right, with crescent on front of helmet ; large earring. Indian legend to right, <i>Shâhi Jabuvlah</i>.</p> <p>Rev.—Indistinct, the coin being <i>repoussé</i>.</p>
13	Æ	50·5	<p>Author, 1·10 inch. Three or four other specimens in poor condition.</p> <p>Beardless head of king to right, with crescent on helmet ; large crescent behind shoulders ; club in front of face ; Ephthalite symbol behind. Indian legend behind head, <i>Shahi</i> (written reversely) <i>Jabula</i> (written direct).</p> <p>Rev.—Indistinct.</p>
11	Æ	48	<p>DEVA SHAHI KHINGGILA.</p> <p>Author, 1·05 inch, unique.</p> <p>Beardless head of king to right ; crescent on helmet ; large crescent behind shoulders ; long earrings ; ornamental wheel before face ; Ephthalite symbol behind head. Indian legend, <i>Deva Shahi Khinggila</i>.</p> <p>Rev.—Indistinct.</p>

## PLATE VII.

No.	Metal.	Wt. Grs.	
			N.B.—In the <i>Raja Tarangini</i> [i. 352] a king named <i>Khingkhila</i> is mentioned amongst the successors of <i>Mihirakula</i> . As he was also called <i>Narendrāditya</i> , which is an Indian name, <i>Khinggila</i> must have been his Ephthalite name. The general appearance of his bust corresponds almost exactly with that of <i>Jabula</i> , who was the father of <i>Mihirakula</i> .
			RAJA LAKHANA(?) UDAYĀDITYA.
12	AR	57	Author, 1·10 inch. Three other specimens: one, Mr. Theobald; two, E. Thomas in Prinsep I. 411. Beardless head of king to right, similar to the heads of <i>Jabula</i> and <i>Khinggila</i> ; crescent on helmet, and small earring in ear; Ephthalite symbol missing. Indian legend, <i>Raja Lakhana(?) Udayāditya</i> . Rev.—Indistinct. N.B.—Thomas proposes to read <i>Lamata</i> , and suggests the kingdom of <i>Lumghan</i> ; but I prefer to take <i>Udayāditya</i> as the Indian title of the foreign king <i>Lakhana</i> , as in the example of <i>Narendrāditya</i> for <i>Khinggila</i> .
14	AR	59	} Author, 1·15 inch; selected from eight or ten specimens. See <i>Ariana Antiqua</i> , xvi. 19. Beardless head of king to right; crescent on helmet; <i>chauries</i> (or tufts of feathers, as Wilson suggests) spring from the shoulders; Ephthalite symbol in front of face. Legend on No. 14 unread. Legend on No. 15 in corrupt Greek written from right to left, <i>Shoho</i> = <i>Shāhi</i> . N.B.—Wilson notes that Masson's coins were found in the great Tope at Hidda, and that great numbers of them are met with at Begrām. I was informed that most of my coins of this and similar classes were found in Stūpas—especially the coins like Plate IX. Fig. 1—and most of the other coins in the same Plate. A few of my coins were purchased at the sale of the remains of the Masson collection in London.
15	AR	60	



## PLATE VII.

No.	Metal.	Wt. Grs.	
16	Æ	57	Author, see <i>Prinsep's Antiquities</i> , by E. Thomas, Pl. XXXIII. 15, 16. Bare head of king to right in circle of beads. Indian letter <i>Bu</i> to right. <i>Rev.</i> —Solar symbol above, Indian legend, <i>To</i> below in large letters.
17	Æ	57	Mr. Theobald. Archer standing with bow in his left hand. <i>Rev.</i> —Same as No. 1, with <i>To</i> below in large letters. N.B.—The syllable <i>To</i> is supposed to be intended for TORAMANA. The assignment is suggested by the fact that the small copper coins of Mihirakula bear the same solar symbol. <i>Prinsep's Antiquities</i> , by E. Thomas, Pl. XXXIV. 17. Male figure standing to front, holding spear in left hand. <i>Rev.</i> —Solar symbol as on No. 1, with Indian letters below, <i>Shuta</i> .
18	Æ	26	Author, unique. Bare head of king to right. <i>Rev.</i> —Solar symbol above, as on No. 2. Indian legend below, <i>Sri Vala</i> + + +.

## PLATE VIII.

No.	Metal.	Wt. Grs.	
1	Æ	57	SHAHI MIHIRAKULA. Author, see <i>Prinsep's Antiquities</i> , by E. Thomas, Pl. XXXIV., Figs. 1, 2, 4, 5. Beardless head of king to right. Indian legend, <i>Sri Mihira-kula</i> . <i>Rev.</i> —Humped bull to left. Indian legend, <i>Jayatu Vrisha</i> . N.B.—Prinsep read <i>Maharaja</i> ; E. Thomas read <i>Mahâarakusa</i> .
2	Æ	48	Author, see Prinsep, by E. Thomas, Pl. XXXIV. Fig. 3. Head of king as on No. 5. Same legend, <i>Sri Mihira-kula</i> .



AUTOTYPE



PLATE VIII.			
No.	Metal.	Wt. Grs.	
			Humped Bull with legend above, <i>Jayatu Vrisha</i> .
3	Æ	36.5	British Museum, from Abbott collection; E. Thomas in Prinsep, i. p. 411. Beardless head of king to right, with crescent on front of head-dress; bull standard in front of face, trident behind head. Indian legend, <i>Jayatu Mihirakula</i> . <i>Rev.</i> —Remains of fire altar and attendants nearly obliterated. E. Thomas published this coin in <i>Prinsep's Antiquities</i> , i. p. 411, but he failed to read the name.
4	Æ	56	Author, 2 coins, but duplicate in poor condition. Beardless head of king to right, as on No. 3. Bull standard before face, and trident behind head. Indian legend, <i>Jayatu Vrisha-dhwaja</i> . <i>Rev.</i> —Fire altar with attendant on each side, quite distinct.
5	Æ	121	Author, 5 specimens. Standing figure of king to left, as on the Kushân coins. Indian legend, <i>Shâhi Mihiragula</i> . The <i>gula</i> is quite distinct on all the coins, and I note that this form of the name is used with the title <i>Shâhi</i> . <i>Rev.</i> —Seated goddess with cornucopiæ, as on the Kushân coins. N.B.—The Indian letter <i>G</i> has the same curved limb to the left as is used in the inscription of Toramâna Shâhi from the Kyura Salt Mines.
6	Æ	109	Author. King standing to front with spear in left hand; star in field to left. Indian legend written reversed, <i>Mihira-kula</i> . <i>Rev.</i> —Seated goddess with cornucopiæ. Star above on right.

## PLATE VIII.

No.	Metal.	Wt. Grs.	
7	Æ	110	<p>Author, 5 specimens, 0·90 inch.  King on horseback to right. Indian legend  reversed [<i>Mihī</i>]rakula.  Rev.—Seated goddess as on the Kushân coins.</p>
			SHAHI JABULA[?].
8	Æ	59	<p>Author, unique, copper plated.  Beardless head of king with crescent on front  of helmet. Indian legend rude, read  conjecturally, <i>Shāhi Jabula</i>.  Rev.—Remains of fire altar and attendants.</p>
			HIRANYA-KULA.
9	Æ	124	<p>Author, 5 specimens.  King standing to left holding spear in left  hand. Indian legend, <i>Shāhi</i> [<i>Hi</i>]ranya-  kula.  Rev.—Seated goddess as on Kushân coins.</p>
10	Æ	126	<p>Author.  King as on No. 9. Indian legend [<i>Hira</i>]nya-  kula <i>Shāhi</i>.  Rev.—Seated goddess.</p>
			SHAHI-JARA[?].
11	Æ	122	<p>Author, unique.  Half-length figure of king to left, with right  hand placed on his waist. Indian legend,  <i>Shāhi Jara</i>.  Rev.—Seated goddess.</p>
12	Æ	118	<p>Author.  Standing figure of king holding spear in left  hand, as on Kushân coins. Indian  legend <i>Shāhi Jari</i>.  Rev.—Seated goddess with cornucopiæ.</p>
13	Æ	105	<p>British Museum. Author, 2 specimens, 105  and 104 grains.  King seated on a <i>Sinhāsan</i>, or “Lion throne”;  lion’s head to right. In king’s left hand  a trident; in his right hand an indistinct  object. Indian legend, <i>Shāhi Jara</i>.</p>

## PLATE VIII.

No.	Metal.	Wt. Grs.	
			<i>Rev.</i> —Goddess on "Lion throne," with cornucopiæ in left hand and uncertain object in right hand.
			N.B.—I have 5 plated coins [Pl. IX. Fig. 8] on which I read the Indian legend, <i>Jayatu Bhārana</i> , but with some hesitation, as the name may also be read <i>Jārana</i> ; and these may be the silver money of Sassanian type with fire altar, of which Fig. 13 above is the copper currency. The silver coins generally take the Sassanian type, while the copper coins adhere to the Kushân type.
14	Æ	58	<p>Author, 2 specimens.</p> <p>Beardless head of king to right with small earring and helmet; crescent behind head; Ephthalite symbol in front. Legend to right in unknown characters.</p> <p><i>Rev.</i>—Fire altar and attendants nearly obliterated.</p>
15	Æ	54	<p>Author, 2 specimens.</p> <p>Beardless head of king to right; crescent in front of helmet. Bust placed on a large crescent; shell in front of face; Ephthalite symbol behind head. Indian legend, <i>Shāhi</i> to left, and <i>Shāhi</i> repeated to right.</p> <p><i>Rev.</i>—Fire altar, indistinct.</p>
16	Æ	49	<p>Author, 3 specimens.</p> <p>Beardless head of king to right, as on No. 15; crescent in front of helmet. Bust placed on large crescent; club in front of face; Ephthalite symbol behind. <i>Shāhi</i> to right and <i>Shāhi</i> to left, as on No. 15.</p> <p><i>Rev.</i>—Fire altar, indistinct.</p>
17	Æ	50	<p>Author, 7 specimens, with slight differences.</p> <p>Beardless head of king with crescent on helmet; earring in ear; ornamental circle in front of face; Ephthalite symbol behind head. Indian legend of two letters, <i>Bugo</i> or <i>Buto</i>.</p> <p><i>Rev.</i>—Fire altar with flames; remains of attendants.</p>

## PLATE IX.

No.	Metal.	Wt. Grs.	
1	Æ	52	<p>Author. See <i>Ariana Antiqua</i>, xvi. 8, p. 395, from "Hidda Tope."</p> <p>Beardless head of king to right, with small earring. Ephthalite symbol to left. Indian legend to right, <i>Vaiga</i> or <i>Vanga</i>.</p> <p>Rev.—Fire altar with two attendants.</p>
BHÂRANA OR JÂRANA.			
2	Æ	50	Author, copper plated, five or six specimens.
3	Æ	42	<p>Beardless head of king to right, with small earring. Trisul in front of head-dress; hand in front of face holding flower. Indian legend, <i>Jayatu Bhârana</i>, or <i>Jârana</i>. Shell behind head.</p> <p>Rev.—Fire altar with attendants.</p> <p>N.B.—See the copper coins, Plate VIII., 11, 12, 13, of <i>Shâhi Jâra</i>, which I have suggested as the copper money of this king, <i>Jârana</i>.</p>
4	Æ	50	<p>Author, unique.</p> <p>Beardless head of king to left, with crescent on helmet. Indian legend, <i>Jayatu Raku × Sr</i> +. Name doubtful.</p> <p>Rev.—Fire altar, nearly obliterated.</p>
5	Æ	55	<p>Author. See <i>Prinsep's Antiquities</i>, by E. Thomas, XXXIII. 4, for a similar coin.</p> <p>Beardless head of king to right, with crescent in front of helmet. Small human figure with raised hand before face. Indian legend, <i>Saha</i>, to left, <i>Shâhi</i> to right. [A coin in the British Museum with a similar small figure has the letters, <i>ditya</i>, <i>Prinsep</i> I. 410.]</p> <p>Rev.—Remains of fire altar.</p> <p>N.B.—Prinsep's coin has the Indian letters <i>Pati</i> instead of <i>Shâhi</i>.</p>
TRILOKA.			
6	Æ	44	Author; four plated coins; intended for silver.



AUTOTYPE.





## PLATE IX.

No.	Metal.	Wt. Grs.	
			Beardless head of king to right, with crescent on helmet. Ephthalite symbol to right, and Indian legend, <i>Triloka</i> . <i>Rev.</i> —Fire altar, nearly obliterated.
PURVVÂDITYA.			
7	Æ	53	Author, very rare. See E. Thomas in <i>Prinsep</i> , I., p. 411. Beardless head of king to right, with crescent in front of helmet; double drop earring. In front, wheel on lotus throne. Ephthalite symbol behind head. Indian legend to right, <i>Purvâditya</i> . <i>Rev.</i> —Fire altar, almost obliterated. E. Thomas has misread the legend as <i>Pûrmaditya</i> .
8	Æ	55	Author. Beardless head of king, with crescent in front of helmet. In front of face, vessel on stand holding a three-branched symbol, perhaps a trisul. Traces of letters above. <i>Rev.</i> —Fire altar, nearly obliterated.
9	Æ	53	Author. Bearded head of king, with crescent in front of helmet; trisul in front of face. Ephthalite symbol behind. Indian legend, <i>Deva Shâhi</i> . <i>Rev.</i> —Fire altar, nearly obliterated.
10	Æ	58	Author, unique. Beardless head of king to right, with crescent in front of helmet, and earring in ear with two strings of pearls. Large flower on undulated stem before face. Indian legend to right, <i>Shâhi</i> . <i>Rev.</i> —Fire altar, nearly obliterated.
11	Æ	52	Author, unique. Beardless head of king to right, with crescent in front of helmet; trident in front of face, and nondescript object behind

PLATE IX.			
No.	Metal.	Wt. Grs.	
			head. Indian legend, <i>Shâhi</i> × × <i>na</i> <i>Shâhi</i> .
			Rev.—Indistinct remains of fire altar.
			NARENDRA.
12	Æ	51	Author, 9 specimens. Beardless head of king to right; earring with two drops; winged head-dress with crescent between; shell behind. Indian legend, <i>Jayatu Sri Narendra</i> . Rev.—Square fire altar, with two attendants; object below like a pair of spectacles upside down. N.B.—A poor specimen with the king's head has an ornamental wheel on reverse.
13	Æ	57	Author, 2 specimens. King seated to front, right hand on hip, left hand holding sceptre. Rev.—Seated goddess, holding flower in left hand. Indian legend written reversed, <i>Jayatu Sri Narendra</i> .
			The following are other varieties of Ephthalite coinage. <i>Ariana Antiqua</i> , Pl. XVII. 20. Head of king; copied from Sassanian coin. Ephthalite symbol. <i>Ariana Antiqua</i> , Pl. XVII. 21. Head of king, with crescent. Trident. Indian legend, <i>Shâhi</i> .
14	Æ	48	Author; <i>Ariana Antiqua</i> , XVI. 18. Beardless head of king to right, with tall helmet, and two drops of earring. Indian legend to left in large, well-formed letters, <i>Shâhi</i> . Wilson, <i>Ariana Antiqua</i> , p. 399, has mistaken one of these letters for the Ephthalite symbol. Rev.—Fire altar, with two attendants.
15	Æ	52	Author, unique. Beardless head of king to right, with high helmet. Altar with three-branched flower to right; Ephthalite symbol to

PLATE IX.			
No.	Metal.	Wt. Grs.	
			left. Indian legend apparently reversed ; read from right to left, <i>Maboma Shâhi</i> .
			<i>Rev.</i> —Fire altar, nearly obliterated.
16	Æ	56	Author, 2 coins. Beardless head of king to right, with crescent in front of helmet ; to right, altar, as on No. 15 ; to left, modified Swastika. <i>Jayatu Bayâr Khotalan.</i> <i>Rev.</i> —Fire altar, nearly obliterated.
17	Æ	44	Author, 11 specimens. Beardless head of king to right, with crescent in front of helmet. On shoulders, two crescents, with an upright middle stroke ; hand extended before face holding flower ; club behind head. <i>Rev.</i> —Remains of fire altar and attendants.
NAPKI MALKA.			
18	Æ	52	Author, 12 specimens. Beardless head of king to right, with trisul in middle of crescent on forehead. Ephthalite symbol behind head. Legend in corrupt Greek letters = <i>Sio Shono</i> (or <i>Shoho</i> ) = <i>Sri Shâhi</i> .
19	Æ	49	Author. Two similar coins with countermark on neck, <i>Tiri</i> , in Indian letters. Ephthalite symbol behind head. Three similar coins with insect as a countermark.
20	Æ	46	Author ; has been plated ; see <i>Ariana Antiqua</i> , XXI. 22. Similar head of king, with flag in front of face. Ephthalite symbol behind. Legend in Indian letters, <i>Sri Shâhi</i> . <i>Rev.</i> —Fire altar, distinct, with attendants.
21	Æ	41	Author ; copper thickly plated. Same types and legend as No. 20, without flag. See <i>Ariana Antiqua</i> , XVII. 11.
22	Æ	23	Author. Same types and legend as No. 21.

## PLATE IX.

No.	Metal.	Wt. Grs.
23	Æ	26
24	Æ	47

Author; unique.

Beardless head of king to right, with two crescents and trisuls on head-dress, holding flower in right hand before face. Indian legend, *Sri Shāhi*.

Rev.—Indistinct.

With these coins may be compared a crystal gem in the possession of the author. (*Num. Chron.* 1893, Pl. X. 1.)

King's head to right, beardless. A two-drop earring. Indian legend to left, *Shānē*. Corrupt Greek to right, *Shaono*.

Author. Small thick coin.

Beardless head of king, with triple crescent and trisul head-dress. Ephthalite symbol behind. To right Pahlavi legend of two letters, *KI*.

Rev.—Fire altar and attendants.

## PLATE X.

No.	Metal.	Wt. Grs.
1	Æ	51
2	Æ	51
3	Æ	51

Author; broad thin coin; unique.

Same types as IX. 24, and same legend and Ephthalite symbol. The king holds out a flower in his right hand.

Author, 13 specimens.

Same types as IX. 24, with modified Ephthalite symbol, and Pahlavi legend, *Napki Malka*.

Author, 25 specimens, several plated; *Ariana Antiqua*, XVII. 5-7—XXI. 21. See *Prinsep's Antiquities*, by E. Thomas, XXXIII. 3.

Beardless head of king; head-dress surmounted by a buffalo's head, and with wings. Pahlavi legend to right, *Napki Matik*.

Rev.—Fire altar, with two attendants; an ornamental wheel over each attendant's head; two letters to left, which look like Indian; one to right, Gandharian *I*.



AUTOTYPE.



## PLATE X.

No.	Metal.	Wt. Grs.	
4	Æ	41	<p>Author, same type as No. 3, but king's head larger, and his cropped hair very conspicuous. Pahlavi legend as No. 3; Pahlavi A to left.</p> <p>Rev.—Similar to No. 3.</p> <p>N.B.—The Chinese annals record that the king of Kipin in the seventh century A.D. wore "<i>un bonnet fait en tête de bœuf</i>." [Remusat, <i>Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques</i>, I., 211.]</p>
5	Æ	50	<p>Author, 5 specimens; <i>Ariana Antiqua</i>, XVII. 6.</p> <p>Beardless head of king, with two wings and two trisuls in head-dress, and a small earring. Legend in corrupt Greek characters, the two letters at the end opposite the chin being the same as those in the field of No. 6, which I read as <i>Shono</i> or <i>Shoho</i>, for <i>Shāhi</i>. The letters on the left at the beginning are the same as those on Figs. 18, 19, Plate IX., which I take to represent <i>Sio</i> for <i>Sri</i>. The intervening letters should give the name.</p> <p>Rev.—Fire altar, with two attendants facing it. Indian legend in two lines, one on each side, <i>Sri Yādevi—māna Sri</i>. The letters differ and are corrupt. Wilson, <i>Ariana Antiqua</i>, p. 402, reads doubtfully, <i>Sri-mad Deva Bhadra Sri</i>, and suggests that the last part may be <i>Khusru</i>.</p> <p>To the right and left are two short words in Pahlavi, which Thomas reads as <i>Pun-shamdāt</i>, a faulty rendering of <i>Pūn shami dāt</i>.</p>
6	Æ	46	<p>Author, unique.</p> <p>Beardless head of king as on No. 5; legend also the same.</p> <p>Rev.—Fire altar and two attendants, the figure on the right being winged. Indian legend in two lines and short Pahlavi legends as on No. 5.</p>



PLATE X.			
No.	Metal.	Wt. Grs.	
7	Æ	51	<p>VASU DEVA OR VAKHU DEVA.</p> <p>Author, 2 specimens; <i>Ariana Antiqua</i>, XVII. 8, p. 400.</p> <p>Beardless head of king, with large wings and crescents on head-dress, like the coins of Khusru II. Indian legend to right, <i>Sri Bahmana</i> (as read by Wilson), and to left <i>Vasu Deva</i>. The last two letters of <i>Bahmana</i> Wilson considers doubtful. I read tentatively <i>Vangāra</i> or <i>Chandāra</i>. <i>Vasu Deva</i> seems uncertain. Both Prinsep and Thomas read <i>Vakhu</i>; but as the Indian letters on these coins are very degraded, the letter might have been intended for a square <i>𐭕</i>, instead of <i>𐭎</i>. [See Thomas, <i>Pahlavi Coins of Early Muhammadan Arabs</i>.]</p> <p>There is a circular legend all round the piece, which no one has yet read. It appears to me to be very degraded Greek. I can see <i>Shono</i>.</p> <p><i>Rev.</i>—Fire altar, with two attendants standing to front, with two short words in Pahlavi to right and left. Circular legend round the outside as on the obverse. The letter <i>B</i> occurs twice in this legend.</p>
8	Æ	29	<p>Author, unique.</p> <p>Beardless head of king, with winged head-dress surmounted by lion's head with mouth open; a javelin in left hand held upright before face. Symbol in field to left.</p> <p><i>Rev.</i>—Fire altar and two attendants, with two Pahlavi words as on No. 7.</p>
	Æ		<p>KHUSRU II. OF PERSIA.</p> <p>From Longpérier's <i>Médailles des Rois Perses</i>, Pl. XI., fig. 3, p. 78.</p> <p>Bearded head of the Sassanian king Khusru Parvez to the front, with a pair of wings on his crown. In the margin on each</p>

## PLATE X.

No.	Metal.	Wt. Grs.	
9	AR	52	<p>of the four sides a crescent and a crown. Pahlavi legend to right, <i>Husrui Malkân Malkâ</i>.</p> <p><i>Rev.</i>—Bust of the Indian Sun-god of Multân, with rayed head-dress. To the left, in Pahlavi, <i>haft-sih</i> = 37, the year of his reign = A.D. 627.</p> <p>N.B.—I ventured to suggest this identification of the rayed bust with the Sun-god of Multân eighteen years ago (<i>Archæol. Survey</i>, V., p. 128), because the same bust appears on the coins of <i>Shâhi Tigin</i> and <i>Vâsu Deva</i>, the actual kings of Multân.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">SHAHI TIGIN.</p> <p>Author, 26 specimens, an average weight 48 to 50 grains; see <i>Ariana Antiqua</i>, XXI. 22; E. Thomas, <i>Pahlavi Coins of Arabs</i>, p. 92.</p> <p>Beardless head of king, three-quarter face, with small moustaches; his tiara surmounted by a tiger's head and two trisuls; in field to right, three characters, which I take to be corrupt Greek for <i>Sri Shono</i>, the first being doubtful. Indian legend in circle outside which I have read tentatively,  <i>Sri Hitivi-cha Airân-cha Parameswara</i>  <i>Sri Shâhi TIGIN Devaja</i>.</p> <p>"The fortunate sovereign both of India and of Persia, the fortunate Shahi TIGIN, the Son of Heaven."</p> <p><i>Rev.</i>—Male head to front, with rayed flames ascending to a point [the Sun-god of Multân = <i>Aditya</i>]. Pahlavi legend to left and right:</p> <p>To left—<i>Saf-Takhîf-Tef</i> = <i>Sri Tigin-Devaja</i>.  To right—<i>Takân Khorasân Malkâ</i> = <i>Tâki-Khorasân Malka</i>.</p> <p>N.B.—<i>Tâki</i> was the name of the Panjâb, of which <i>Tâki-shahr</i>, or <i>Taxila</i>, was the capital. It therefore represents <i>India</i>, the <i>Hitivi</i> of the Sanskrit legend, while <i>Khorasân</i> represents the <i>Airân</i>. By these readings, the Sanskrit and Pahlavi legends correspond</p>

PLATE X.			Wt. Grs.		
No.	Metal.				
10	Æ	52			<p>fairly well. I take this king to have been the founder of <i>Takinâbâd</i>, one of the two capitals of Zâbulistân. According to the <i>Tabakât-i-Nasiri</i> it was the "largest town in Garmsir." I infer that it was originally the <i>Hasalo</i> of the Chinese annals. It was taken from <i>Lak-lak</i> in the end of the ninth century, by the <i>Safâri</i> Yakub bin' Lais. It then fell to the Ghaznavis, and in the twelfth century it belonged to the Ghoris, who pursued Bahram Ghaznavi to <i>Takinâbâd</i>.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">VASU-DEVA.</p> <p>Author, 4 specimens; see <i>Ariana Antiqua</i>, XVII. 9.</p> <p>Head of king, with a pair of large wings on head-dress, as on coins of Khusru Parvez. Two Pahlavi legends in inner and outer circles.</p> <p>Inner to left, × <i>Afzut</i>.</p> <p>Inner to right, <i>Saf Varsu Tef = Sri Vâsu Deva</i>.</p> <p>Margin—<i>Saf Varsu Tef—Wahman × Multân Malkâ</i>.</p> <p>"<i>Sri Vâsu Deva, king of Bâhman and Multân</i>."</p> <p><i>Rev.</i>—Head of Sun-god as on No. 9.</p> <p>Indian legend to right—<i>Sri Vâsu Deva</i> (reversed).</p> <p>Pahlavi legend to left — <i>Tukân Zâulastân</i> (= India, Zabulistân).</p> <p>Margin—<i>Sapardalakhshân = Sapâdalaksha</i> (= Rajputâna).</p> <p>N.B.—I take <i>parda</i> to represent pâda, just as <i>Varsu</i> = Vâsu. On my other three coins, which I bought at the sale of the spare coins of the Masson Collection, there is a deeply stamped and well executed "boar's head." This may be seen in Wilson's plate, <i>Ariana Antiqua</i>, XVII. 9. He has made a mistake about the boar's head, as he describes the countermark as containing "illegible characters" (p. 400).</p> <p>Several of the Vasu Deva coins have the Indian legend written from right to left, as in</p>

PLATE X.			my coin given in the plate. The coin in the British Museum has the name correctly written from left to right.
No.	Metal.	Wt. Grs.	
11	Æ	66	<p>British Museum, unique.</p> <p>Beardless head of the king, three-quarter face, with a pair of small wings and two crescents on tiara, and large earring in ear; in the field to right, a small human figure lying on his back, with legs raised, and head also raised, and looking between his legs. To left, Pahlavi legend, unread.</p> <p><i>Rev.</i>—Rayed head of Sun-god, as on Nos. 9 and 10. Pahlavi legends:</p> <p>Left—<i>Saparlakshan</i> = <i>Rajputana</i>.  Right—<i>Zâulistan</i> = <i>Zabulistan</i>.  Marginal legend not read.</p>

A. CUNNINGHAM.

## NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

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*Traité de Numismatique du Moyen Age.* By MM. Arthur Engel and Raymond Serrure, 2nd Vol., Paris, 1894 :—

The authors of this useful compendium (of the first volume of which I wrote a short notice in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd S., vol. xi.) have not lost any time in compiling and issuing a second volume. This embraces a period from the end of the Carolingian age to the commencement of the striking of the Gros d'Argent; in other words, from the time of Hugues Capet to the end of the thirteenth century, when the Kings of France, under the rights acquired by them from the Bishop of Tournai, began to issue groats struck in that city. The matter (contained in almost six hundred pages, and accompanied by numerous illustrations) is well arranged, and the authors evidence considerable erudition and industry in dealing with the coinages, between the periods mentioned, of France, Germany, Burgundy and Provence, Italy, the Iberian peninsula, Britain, Scandinavia, and the other European territories. The principle of arrangement adopted is very similar to that contained in the first volume, to which the present is a most useful and invaluable addendum, inspiring a hope that the authors may bring to a speedy conclusion so important an adjunct to our histories of the Mediæval coinages. As before, I shall confine my detailed remarks to the points that more nearly affect, or are likely to interest, English numismatists. From a morphological point of view, it is very interesting to note the degeneracy of the crowned head of the later Carolingian times on the coins of Chinon and Tours into a form finally resembling a square C on the issues of Chartres, Châteaudun, and other fiefs (pp. 394—399). This reminds one somewhat of similar phenomena on our early British series, first noted by Akerman, and subsequently elaborated and systematised by Sir John Evans. Under the head of Poitou, the authors describe the well-known coins of our

Richard I. bearing the reverse legend PICTAVIENSIS, but suggest that it is probable that he commenced striking coins with the ordinary type of Melle, *i.e.* CARLVS on the one side and METALO or MEOTVLO on the other. In dealing with the Aquitaine issues our continental friends have as much difficulty in distinguishing between the coinages of the three Edwards as once existed here in connection with their English sterlings. The authors explicitly state that it is impossible to find any distinction between the pieces of Aquitaine struck by Edward I. after his accession to the English throne, those struck by Edward II., and the first issues of Edward III. It may be well hoped that they will not give up the task as hopeless. The monies of the early Counts of Toulouse may throw a light on the PAX coinage of some of our early kings. William IV. of Toulouse (who ruled from A.D. 1060 to 1078), amongst other types, employed that of the word PAX placed on a triangle, and by way of evidence of the episcopal intervention (Toulouse being a bishopric as well as a county) the form of a cross is given to the letter P. The same device occurs on the coins of his successors, and PAX written across the coin occurs on the Châlons-sur-Marne pieces of William I. (A.D. 1113—1122) and Geoffroi I. (A.D. 1131—1142).

The authors follow Poey d'Avant in attributing to Eustace III., Count of Boulogne (p. 499), the penny (Hks. 282) reading EISTAOHIVS on the obverse and with an escarbuncle fleuri on the reverse. They write as follows:—"The reign of Eustace III. (1093—1120) gives us a denier of an essentially English type, and which might very well have been struck in the possessions of the Count, situated on the other side of the Channel. The type is that of a lion passant on a kind of building with arcades, and a legend EISTAOHIVS. The cross on the reverse is formed of an escarbuncle, garnished with lis and various ornaments, &c." They ignore the fact that a similar reverse exists on undoubted English coins, and that on practically all the other coins of Boulogne the name of the town appears in some form, and their attribution on the whole can scarcely be adopted. It may be mentioned that Poey d'Avant describes the piece as being of billon, but as his description is from the coin in the British Museum, he must have erred on that subject.

In approaching the chapter on the Coinage of the British Isles, it is more than curious to note that, beyond Dr. Hildebrand's work, the only source of information recognised, so far as England is concerned, is that of the *Guide to the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland*, by the late Colonel W. S. Thorburn. The descriptions are naturally in accordance with the

scheme of the work, of a somewhat jejune nature, and there are but few errors worth noticing. Henry I., who was the fourth and youngest son of William the Conqueror, is described as being the third son. The coins of Eustace are attributed to the son of Stephen, and not to Eustace Fitzjohn, to whom, as Mr. L. A. Lawrence has fairly proved, they should be ascribed, and the Reading penny of Edward III. is somewhat perversely attributed, in accordance with former ideas, to Edward I.; but with these and some other trifling exceptions there is no fault to find with the short *résumé* of the British coinage contained in the work under review. On the whole the authors may be congratulated on the rapid and satisfactory progress made by them, and our readers may be fairly invited to relax their insularity in favour of a compilation which evidences the fact that there is much that is useful to "mark, learn, and inwardly digest" in connection with coinages other than our own.

H. MONTAGU.

## VIII.

### MONNAIES GRECQUES, INÉDITES ET INCERTAINES.

(Suite.<sup>1</sup>)

(Pl. XIII.)

#### XVIII.—ETOLIE. DÉMÉTRIUS I'ETOLIQUE, ROI DE MACÉDOINE (239—229), ENV. 235—233.

Tête jeune et imberbe, à droite, ceinte d'une couronne de *chêne*, autour de laquelle s'enroule un diadème, dont les bouts flottent derrière la nuque. Audessous **ΦΙ**. Grènetis.

*Rev.*—**ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ**. Jeune héros, Aitolos ? debout à gauche, le pied droit posé sur un rocher et s'appuyant de la main droite sur un bâton noueux ; il porte le pétase au cou, la chlamyde sur le bras gauche et une épée suspendue à un baudrier. Dans le champ souvent un grand Δ (*Δημήτριος ?*).

Æ 6½. 10 gr. 50. Luynes, *Choix*, Pl. IX, 15 ; Gardner, *Numism. Chron.* 1878, p. 97, Pl. V. 8, 9 ; *Catal. Brit. Mus. Seleucid. Kings*, p. 29, n. 2—4, Pl. XXVIII, 2, 3 ; *Thessaly, etc.*, p. 195, n. 9—11, Pl. XXX, 6 ; Head, *Guide*, p. 77, 17, Pl. 42, 17 ; Wroth, *Num. Chron.*, 1891, p. 126, Pl. IV, 10 ; ma coll., etc.

M. Gardner a proposé de voir dans cette tête jeune et imberbe le roi de Syrie Antiochus III, que les Etoliens avaient élu, en 192, commandant en chef, *αὐτοκράτωρ στρατηγός*, de leur ligue et engagé à venir en Grèce se mettre à leur tête pour combattre les Romains.

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<sup>1</sup> Voir *Num. Chron.* 3rd S., Vol. X, p. 185.



J'aurais quelques objections à faire valoir contre cette proposition.

D'abord les traits du visage ne répondent pas à ceux d'Antiochus, dont la physionomie nous est si bien connue par ses nombreuses monnaies. A mon avis ce n'est pas le même personnage et je ne trouve aucune ressemblance entre les deux têtes sur les exemplaires que j'ai devant moi. Puis, la pose du jeune héros est analogue à celle de Poseidon sur les tétradrachmes de Démétrius le Poliorcète et semble en avoir été empruntée ; il faut donc rechercher le motif qui a poussé les Etoliens à cette imitation.

En outre la couronne de chêne est un indice certain qu'il s'agit d'un Epirote, car autant que je sache les Epirotes seuls se couronnaient de feuilles de chêne, en l'honneur du Zeus de Dodone, le dieu tutélaire du pays,<sup>2</sup> jusqu'à ce que cette couronne fut introduite en Macédoine par Philippe V, épirote par sa mère et le dernier représentant de la famille de Pyrrhus. Antiochus de Syrie se serait couronné du laurier d'Apollon, ou plutôt, il n'aurait pas porté de couronne, avant d'avoir remporté la victoire, mais un large diadème royal.

Toutes ces difficultés disparaissent, si on admet que les statères des Etoliens ont été émis sous Démétrius, fils d'Antigone Gonatas et roi de Macédoine de 239 à 229 ; il était prétendant à la couronne d'Epire par son mariage avec Phthia, fille d'Alexandre II, petite-fille de Pyrrhus et l'héritière du trône après la mort des autres membres

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<sup>2</sup> Plutarque, *Pyrrhus* 11 ; J. Six, *Un ritratto del re Pirro*, *Bull. Inst. arch.* 1891, p. 279—284 ; W. Helbig, *Deux portraits de Pyrrhus*, *Mél. d'arch. et d'hist., Ecole fr. de Rome*, XIII, 1893, p. 377—390.

de la famille, 238—235.<sup>3</sup> Démétrius fit la guerre aux Etoliens, env. 235—233, et remporta de tels succès qu'il en reçut le nom de l'Étolique ;<sup>4</sup> il est donc fort probable qu'il ne se borna pas à ravager le pays, mais qu'il fut assez longtemps maître de l'Étolie pour y faire battre les beaux statères, qui rappellent par l'ensemble des types et par la pose du héros les tétradrachmes de son grand-père Démétrius le Poliorcète et dont le poids est celui des statères contemporains des Epirotes, tandis que les Etoliens avaient d'abord adopté le système attique. Il est fâcheux que le manque de renseignements détaillés sur cette expédition ne permette pas de fournir des preuves décisives en faveur de ma proposition ; aussi me bornerai-je à l'énoncer comme une simple hypothèse.

XIX.—CARYSTOS. ALEXANDRE, FILS DE CRATEROS, ROI  
D'ÉUBÉE, VERS 250.

Tête imberbe, à droite, ceinte d'une couronne, autour de laquelle s'enroule un diadème, dont les bouts flottent derrière la nuque. Grènetis.

Rev.—ΚΑΡΥΣΤΙΩ[N]. Bige au galop à gauche conduit par Niké, qui de la main droite tient une longue palme diadémée et de la gauche une couronne entourant le trident de Carystos.

Æ 5. 6 gr. 83. Cab. de la Haye, Imhoof, *Zeitschr. f. Numism.* III, 1876, p. 302, 1, T. VIII, 9 ; Gardner, *Num. Chron.*, 1878, p. 98, Pl. V, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellen.* III, 2, p. 37, 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 33—42 ; Wissowa-Pauly, *Real-Encycl.* I, p. 1123 ; Oberhummer, *Alkarnan.* p. 152 ; Strabon X, 2, p. 451, περί ὃν τὴν νεωτέραν Πλευρώνα συνέκτισαν ἀφέντες τὴν παλαιάν, ἐγγὺς κειμένην Καλυδῶνος, οἱ οἰκῆτορες, εὐκαρπον οὖς καὶ πεδιάδα, πορθοῦντος τὴν χώραν Δημητρίου τοῦ ἐπικληθέντος Αἰτωλικοῦ. Polybe II, 44, 1.

6,38, fruste, troué. Brit. Mus. Borrell, *Num. Chron.* VI, 1844, p. 144, 2; Imhoof, *l. c.* p. 303, 2, T. VIII, 10; Head, *Catal. Central Greece*, p. lxiii, lxiv, p. 103, 18, Pl. XIX, 2; *Guide*, p. 80, 30, Pl. 43, 30; Gardner, *l. c.* p. 97, Pl. V, 12.

Ici encore M. Gardner a voulu reconnaître dans la tête couronnée le roi de Syrie Antiochus III, qui séjourna à Chalcis d'Eubée au commencement de l'an 191<sup>5</sup> et ici encore il m'est impossible de trouver la moindre ressemblance entre cette tête si caractéristique et si bien rendue et celle du roi de Syrie.

Pourquoi n'attribuerions nous pas plutôt ces rares didrachmes au seul roi d'Eubée que nous connaissons au 3<sup>e</sup> siècle, Alexandre, le fils de Crateros et le neveu d'Antigone Gonatas, né entre 300 et 290 et marié à Nicée, vers 272 ?<sup>6</sup>

Resté en possession de Corinthe et de l'Eubée par la mort, entre 270 et 265, de Crateros, qui les occupait comme stratège de son frère en Péloponnèse et en Eubée,<sup>7</sup> Alexandre se déclara indépendant et soutint victorieusement la lutte contre son oncle Antigone<sup>8</sup> et contre les forces réunies d'Athènes et d'Aristomachos, le tyran d'Argos.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> L'unique tétradrachme de Chalcis, de Xénocratès, ne peut avoir été frappé à cette occasion, parce que le type du revers est entouré d'une couronne de chêne, au lieu de l'être de laurier.

<sup>6</sup> Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellen.* III, 1, p. 239.

<sup>7</sup> Droysen, *l. c.* p. 200, 224.

<sup>8</sup> Pomp. Trogus, *Prol.* XXVI, Ut (Antigonus Gonatas) defec-tores Gallos Megaris delevit regemque Lacedaemonium Area Corinthi interfecit (265), dehinc cum fratris sui Crateri filio Alexandro bellum habuit. Droysen, *l. c.* p. 239.

<sup>9</sup> Wilhelm, *Mittheil. Arch. Inst. Athen.* XVI, 1891, p. 150 ;

C'est apparemment après ces victoires qu'il aura pris le titre de roi<sup>10</sup> et qu'il aura entouré sa couronne de vainqueur du diadème royal.

Il ne semble pas pourtant être resté longtemps au possession de l'Eubée, ce qui rend compte de la rareté des monnaies qu'il y fit frapper à son effigie, et il dut se contenter de Corinthe, où il résida jusqu'à ce qu'il mourut, vers 244, empoisonné, dit-on, à l'instigation de son oncle. Sa veuve Nicée fut engagée à céder Corinthe à Antigone contre un mariage avec Démétrius, le fils du roi et l'héritier du trône de Macédoine.<sup>11</sup>

Si ma proposition était acceptée, les didrachmes de Carystus dateraient d'après 256, et seraient ainsi contemporains des tétradrachmes de Pergame, frappés sous Eumène I, 263—241,<sup>12</sup> sur lesquels la tête du fondateur de la dynastie, Philétère, apparaît pour la première fois ceinte d'une couronne enlacée par un diadème, exactement pareille à celle du roi d'Eubée.

Comme Philétère n'était que dynaste et n'a jamais ceint le diadème, on voit qu'Alexandre en portant une couronne pareille, n'a pas prétendu se déclarer l'égal des

*Corp. Inscr. Att.*, II, 161 et 285 : καὶ συνβάντος κοινού πολέμο[υ τῶ] δῆμῳ (des Athéniens) [καὶ τῇ] πόλει τῶν Ἀργείων πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Κρατ[ε]ροῦ ; Wissowa-Pauly, *Real-Encycl.*, I, p. 1486.

<sup>10</sup> Suidas v. Εὐφορίων . τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Εὐβοίας, υἱοῦ δὲ Κρατεροῦ, γυναικὸς Νικαίας ; Wilhelm, *Ephem. Arch.*, 1892, p. 126—133. Inscr. d'Erétie : ἐπειδὴ Ἀρριδαῖος—ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γέγονεν περὶ τε Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν βασιλέα εὐεργέτην γεγενημένο[ν τοῦ δῆμ]ου τοῦ Ἐρετριέων καὶ π[ερὶ τοὺς συν]όντας βασιλεῖ. Plutarque, *Aratus*, 18, nous renseigne sur une alliance contractée entre Alexandre et les Achéens.

<sup>11</sup> Plutarque, *Aratus*, 17. Polyen, IV, 6, 1.

<sup>12</sup> Imhoof, *Dynastie von Pergamon* (Abh. K. Pr. Akad. 1884), p. 26, T. I, 7.

rois de Macédoine ou de Syrie; raison de plus pour ne pas classer les didrachmes de Carystos à Antiochus III.

XX.—SINOPE. SYSINAS, FILS DE DATAME, 362—353 ENV.

1. Tête de la Nympe *Sinope*, à gauche, les cheveux retenus dans une sphendoné, et parée de pendants d'oreilles et d'un collier. Devant elle aplustre.

*Rev.*—*Aigle pêcheur*, les ailes éployées, à gauche, tenant un *dauphin* dans ses serres; au dessous

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Æ 5. 5 gr. 44. Brit. Mus.; Wroth, *Num. Chron.*, 1893, p. 7, Pl. I. 14; Head, *Num. Chron.*, 1892, p. 253; 1893, p. 74.

5,31. Coll. H. Weber, à Londres.

Pour d'autres exemplaires sur lesquels les lettres sont moins bien formées et parfois même barbares, voir: *Num. Chron.*, 1885 (*Sinope*), p. 28; Reinach, *Revue Numism.*, 1891, p. 362—364, Pl. XIX, 2; *Revue Critique*, 1893, p. 462, 463; Babelon, *Revue Num.*, 1892, p. 175—182, p. 459, 460; *Mélanges Numism.*, 2<sup>e</sup> série, 1893, p. 36—44, 182, 183, et 323; *Perses achémén.*, 1893, p. lxxix—lxxxii, p. 57, n. 386, Pl. IX, 20.

Tant que je ne connaissais encore que ces derniers exemplaires, la proposition de M. Babelon, qui retrouvait dans la légende la transcription araméenne du nom perse Abrocomas, m'a parue très plausible et je n'ai pas tardé à l'adopter.

Mais dès que M. Weber m'eut favorisé d'un moulage de son exemplaire, j'ai dû changer d'avis et adopter la lecture עבדסן, *Abd-s-s-n*, proposée par M. Head; il n'y avait pas moyen d'en faire autrement—tant cette lecture était évidente—et j'espère que M. Babelon pourra l'admettre lui-même, si je réussis à montrer quel est le personnage désigné par cette inscription.

Un fait historique raconté par Cornel. Nepos, *Datames*, 7, pourra, je crois, nous l'apprendre : “ Ab hoc tamen viro (Datames) Sysinas, maximo natu filius desciiit ad regemque transiit et de defectione patris detulit.”

C'est ce *Sysinas*, fils aîné de Datame, dont je voudrais retrouver le nom sous la forme araméenne *Abdsusin*.

Rien n'empêche, que je sache, d'admettre que le roi Artaxerxès II lui ait confié la satrapie de son père, en tout ou en partie, en reconnaissance de sa trahison et que Sysinas ait succédé à Datame après la mort de ce satrape en 362. D'autre part la grande ressemblance des monnaies d'Abdsusin avec celles d'Ariarathe, porte à croire que Sysinas a été succédé immédiatement par Ariarathe.<sup>13</sup>

L'adoption de l'écriture araméenne et du poids des sicles perses par opposition aux lettres grecques des hémistatères éginétiques de Datame convient bien à ce fils dénaturé qui trahit son père pour s'assurer la faveur du roi de Perse.

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<sup>13</sup> C'est aussi l'opinion de M. Babelon, *Mél. Num.* p. 43, suiv., *Pers. achémén.*, p. lxxxii, suiv., et je suis complètement de son avis que les deux pièces à légendes araméennes, décrites, *Num. Chron.*, 1885 (Sinope), p. 26, 27, n. 37, 38, ne sont pas d'assez bon style pour les croire frappées à Sinope même et qu'il n'y faut pas chercher des noms de gouverneurs de la Cappadoce, ce que du reste je n'ai pas affirmé. M. Babelon n'a pas remarqué que je me suis borné à enregistrer ces pièces en tête d'un groupe de monnaies à légendes barbares, grecques et autres, imitées de celles de Sinope.

Mais j'ai peine à croire que la légende du n. 39, עררופת, quoique tracée par un graveur inhabile, ne donnerait pas un nom perse régulier, Orontopata, et que cette pièce n'aurait pas été frappée aux environs de Sinope par quelque commandant de troupes, Orontobatès, qui pourrait bien être le même que le satrape perse de ce nom, qui, plus tard, vers 336, par son mariage avec la fille de Pixodare, devint, en 334, le dernier dynaste de la Carie et dont la carrière antérieure nous est totalement inconnue.

Du reste, Sysinas n'est plus mentionné, à moins que ce ne soit, comme M. Noeldeke a bien voulu me le suggérer, le même que le perse *Sisenes*, qui envoyé par le satrape d'Egypte à Philippe II de Macédoine, fut si bien accueilli à la cour de Pella qu'il y resta et accompagna Alexandre en Asie, où il était compté parmi les amis fidèles du roi, jusqu'à ce qu'une inadvertance lui causa la mort, 333.<sup>14</sup>

Il est vrai que le nom Sysinas n'est pas une transcription exacte d'Abdsusin ; mais les anciens se permettaient en cette matière des libertés qui nous déroutent souvent et se contentaient de substituer au mot barbare un nom de leur langue qui semblait s'en approcher. Ainsi Thucydide<sup>15</sup> et Xénophon<sup>16</sup> désignent par le nom grec, *Ἰεραμῆνης*, le beau-frère du roi Darius II ; son nom perse était *Ariyamana*, d'après la stèle de Xanthos.<sup>17</sup>

Un décret officiel des Athéniens<sup>18</sup> donne le nom grec de *Στράτων* au roi de Sidon, que les initiales עב qui se lisent sur les monnaies que M. Babelon lui attribue,<sup>19</sup> démontrent avoir porté le nom de עבדעשתרת ; *Ἀβδαστρατος*<sup>20</sup> aurait été une transcription plus exacte.

De même Abdsusin aura reçu des Perses, et à leur exemple, des Grecs, le nom perse Sysinas ou Sisines,<sup>21</sup> qui

<sup>14</sup> Q. Curce, III, 7. Erat in exercitu regis Sisenos Perses ; quondam a praetore Aegypti missus ad Philippum, donisque et omni honore cultus, exilium patria sede mutaverat ; secutus deinde in Asiam Alexandrum inter fideles socios habebatur, etc.

<sup>15</sup> Thucyd. VIII, 58.

<sup>16</sup> Xénophon, *Helben.* II, 1, 9.

<sup>17</sup> Schmidt, *The Lycian Inscriptions*, Taf. VII, 4 (North), l. 12.

<sup>18</sup> *Corp. inscr. Attic.* II, n. 86.

<sup>19</sup> *Bulletin de Corr. Hellén.* XV, 1891, p. 293—320 ; *Mélanges Numism.*, 1<sup>e</sup> sér. p. 283—320 ; *Perses achémén.*, p. clxxxi—clxxxv.

<sup>20</sup> Josephus, *Contr. Apion*, I, 18.

<sup>21</sup> *Σισίνης*, Arrien, *Anab.* I, 25, 3 ; VII, 6, 4 ; cp. *Σισίκορτος*, *Σισιμίθρης*, *Σισαμάκης*, *Σισάμνης*, *Σισύγαμβρις*, etc.

en approchait le plus, tandis que la transcription exacte est indiquée par l'inscription bilingue de Tamassos,<sup>22</sup> où עבדסם, dont עבדסן est la forme araméenne,<sup>23</sup> est correctement rendu en Cypriote par *Apsasomos*, Ἀψάσωμος.<sup>24</sup> Ainsi Apsysinas serait devenu Psysinas, puis Sysinas.

Ce qui, peut-être, explique encore mieux ce changement, c'est qu'il existait, à côté de עבדסם, un autre nom, ססמי, rendu par Σέσματος dans l'inscription bilingue de Lapethos,<sup>25</sup> et dérivé évidemment du même nom divin, dont le vrai sens ne paraît pas encore avoir été retrouvé.<sup>26</sup> Cela me ferait croire qu'il a pu exister une forme araméenne de Σέσματος, tellement analogue au nom perse Sisenes, Sysinas, Σισίνης, et dont la signification différerait si peu d'Abdsusin, que le même personnage a pu être indiqué indifféremment par l'une comme par l'autre de ces formes.

Il ne me reste qu'à remarquer que le nom Σισίνης ou Σισίννης revient en Cappadoce, en 42, comme celui d'un prétendant à la couronne, qui avait sa résidence à Cadéna et son trésor à Nora et qui paraît avoir été de race royale ou princière.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Euting, *Sitzungsb. Berl. Akad.*, 1887, p. 122; Berger, *Comptes rendus, Acad. d. inscr.* 1887, XV, p. 187, suiv.

<sup>23</sup> Comme M. Noeldeke a bien voulu me l'indiquer.

<sup>24</sup> Hoffmann, *Griech. Dialekte*, I, p. 75, n. 141.

<sup>25</sup> *Corp. Inscr. Semit.* I, No. 95; cp. ססמי, I Chron. II, 40.

<sup>26</sup> On traduit עבדסם par *serviteur des chevaux* (sacrés du soleil) en le dérivant de סוסם, chevaux, mais Renan préférerait reconnaître le nom d'une divinité inconnue jusqu'ici; v. *Corp. Inscr. Semit.* I, n. 46, cp. n. 49, 53, 93; Bloch, *Phoen. Glossar.* p. 48.

<sup>27</sup> Strabon, XII, 2, 6; Appien, *Bell. civil.* V, 7; Reinach, *Revue num.*, 1886, p. 461, 462.



XXI.—CHARÈS, DESPOTE DE SIGÉE, 355—334 ET DE  
LAMPASAQUE, 355—345 ?

1. Tête de l'*Athéna parthenos* de Phidias, vue de trois-quarts, coiffée du casque attique à triple cimier et parée d'un collier.

*Rev.*—ΞΙΓΕ. Chouette, à droite, la tête de face. A gauche, croissant de lune.

Æ 3½. 2 gr. 56. (Hecté d'un statère de 15 gr. 40). Brit. Mus. *Catal. Troas* p. 86, n. 1, Pl. XVI, 5; *Catal. Thomas*, n. 2013.

2,51. Borrell, *Num. Chron.* VI, 1844, p. 199.

2. *Rev.*—ΞΙΓΕ. Double chouette, à une seule tête; le croissant de lune à droite.

Æ 5½—5. 8,55. Brandis, *Muenzw.* p. 557; Mion. II, p. 671, n. 262; *S.*, V, p. 581, n. 511; Brit. Mus. n. 14—16, Pl. XVI, 8—10.

3. La croissant de lune à gauche.

Æ 2½—2. 1,98. Ma coll.; Brit. Mus., n. 17, 18.

4. *Rev.*—ΞΙΓΕ. Chouette à droite, la tête de face. A gauche croissant de lune.

Æ 4½—4. 6,80. Brandis, *l. c.*; Mion. n. 261; *S.* n. 510; Brit. Mus. n. 2—6, Pl. XVI, 6. [Pl. XIII, No. 1.]

5. Æ 2½—1. 2,10. Brandis, *l. c.*; *Catal. Allier*, Pl. XIII, 16; Mion. *S.* n. 512, 513; Brit. Mus. n. 7—13, Pl. XVI, 7.

6. Tête à droite d'*Athéna*, coiffée du casque attique, à cimier, orné d'une palmette.

*Rev.*—ΞΙΓΕ. Croissant de lune.

Æ 1. 1,05. Ma coll.; *Catal. Allier*, Pl. XIII, 17; Mion. *S.* p. 582, n. 514; Brit. Mus., n. 21—24, Pl. XVI, 11.

7. Tête à droite d'*Athéna*, coiffée du casque attique, à cimier, lauré.

*Rev.*—ΞΙΓΕ. Chouette, à droite, la tête de face; sans symbole.

Æ 2½—2. 2,10. Brandis, *l. c.*; ma coll. [Pl. XIII, No. 2]; Brit. Mus., n. 19, 20.

Toutes ces monnaies datent, comme l'a vu M. Head,<sup>28</sup> de la seconde moitié du 4<sup>e</sup> siècle ; or, à cette époque, Sigée était en possession du stratège Athénien Charès, fils de Théocharès,<sup>29</sup> qui s'en était emparé en 355, quand il vint au secours du satrape Artabaze à la tête d'un corps de mercenaires et l'aida à remporter la victoire sur les satrapes du roi de Perse.<sup>30</sup>

Charès fit de Sigée sa résidence habituelle,<sup>31</sup> quand ses devoirs ne l'appelaient pas à Athènes ou ailleurs et il y habitait encore en 334 quand, à l'arrivée d'Alexandre, contre lequel il avait combattu quatre ans plus tôt à Chéronée, comme stratège des Athéniens,<sup>32</sup> il se hâta d'offrir une couronne d'or au jeune roi,<sup>33</sup> en reconnaissance de ce qu'Alexandre, à la requête des Athéniens, lui avait pardonné sa conduite hostile.<sup>34</sup> Il se sera retiré alors, 335, à Sigée, pour y passer le reste de ses jours.

<sup>28</sup> *Historia Numorum*, p. 475.

<sup>29</sup> Pauly, *Real-Encycl.* v. Chares.

<sup>30</sup> Judeich, *Kleinasiat. Studien*, 1892, p. 210, 213, 260, 291, 296.

<sup>31</sup> Nepos, *Chabrias* 3. Itaque Chabrias, cum ei licebat, plurimum aberat ; neque vero solus ille aberat Athenis libenter, sed omnes fere principes fecerunt idem— ; itaque Conon plurimum Cypri vixit, Iphicrates in Thracia, Timotheus Lesbo, Chares Sigæo, dissimilis quidem Chares horum et factis et moribus, sed tamen Athenis et honoratus et potens.

<sup>32</sup> Diodore, XVI, 85.

<sup>33</sup> Arrien, *Anabasis*, I, 12, 1. 'Ανιόντα δ' αὐτὸν ('Αλέξανδρον) εἰς Ἰλιον Μενoitίος τε ὁ κυβερνήτης χρυσῶ στεφάνῳ ἐστεφάνωσε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Χάρης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐκ Σιγείου ἐλθὼν, καὶ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες, οἱ δὲ ἐπιχώριοι.

<sup>34</sup> Arrien, *Anabasis*, I, 10, 4. καὶ Ὑπερείδην δὲ ἐξήγει ('Αλέξανδρος) καὶ Πολύεγκτον καὶ Χάρητα καὶ Χαρίδημον κ. τ. λ., τούτους γὰρ αἰτίους εἶναι τῆς τε ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ ξυμφορᾶς—'Αθηναῖοι δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας οὐκ ἐξέδοσαν—ἀφείναι δέομενοι τὴν ὀργὴν τοῖς ἐξαιτηθεῖσι· καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀφῆκε.

C'est durant cette période de plus de vingt ans, 355—334, pendant laquelle Sigée était au pouvoir d'un Athénien, qu'auront été émises ces monnaies au type de la chouette d'Athènes et de la tête d'Athéna, copiée fort exactement, comme les médaillons en or, découverts à Kertsch,<sup>35</sup> en font foi, d'après la tête colossale de la statue chryséléphantine de Phidias, que tout bon Athénien doit avoir considéré alors comme l'image la plus authentique de la déesse tutélaire de son illustre patrie.

Bientôt après la visite d'Alexandre à Ilion, cette ville commence à battre monnaie et la tête d'Athéna Ilias sur les premiers petits bronzes [Pl. XIII. Nos. 3, 4] est identique à celle des dernières émissions de Sigée; je crois donc qu'on peut admettre que la série monétaire de Sigée finit où celle de sa voisine Ilion commence.

Il n'est pas étonnant que le nom de Charès ne se lise pas sur les pièces frappées par son ordre ou du-moins à sa réquisition. Les types parlent assez haut et accusent distinctement leur origine athénienne. Puis, Charès, quoique *maître*<sup>36</sup> de la ville de fait, n'y aura pas exercé une autorité légale et reconnue aux yeux des Athéniens. Aussi ne l'ais-je pas intitulé dynaste, mais despote, titre qui me semble plus approprié aux circonstances.

Il est très difficile de reconnaître, parmi les statères d'or de Lampsaque, dont M. Wroth vient de donner la liste,<sup>37</sup> ceux qu'on pourrait assigner à la période pendant laquelle Charès a été maître de cette ville dont il s'était emparée en même temps que de Sigée et dont il peut être resté en possession au-moins jusqu'en 345, quand

<sup>35</sup> G. Kieseritsky, *Athéna Parthenos des Ermitage, Mittheil. Arch. Instit. Athén.*, VIII, 1888, p. 291—315, T. XV. La tête d'Athéna est tout à fait pareille à celle des monnaies.

<sup>36</sup> Aristote, *Oecon.*, XXX. Μέμνων Ῥόδιος κυριεύσας Δαμψάκου.

<sup>37</sup> *Catal. Brit. Mus. Mysia*, p. xxi—xxv.

Mentor vint rétablir l'autorité du grand roi dans ces parages et que son frère Memnon, qu'on sait avoir été despote de Lampsaque vers 340, revint de Macédoine, où il avait passé huit années d'exil, 352—345, à la cour du roi Philippe, avec son beau-frère, le satrape Artabaze et sa famille.<sup>38</sup>

Pourtant il y a un groupe de statères dont les revers, au type du protome de pégase, sont tous d'un même style identique et gravés par les mêmes artistes et qui me paraissent convenir à cette époque. Ce sont les numéros suivants de la liste de M. Wroth, rangés d'après le style.

No.

13. Tête de femme, ceinte de grappes de raisin, les cheveux dans un *saccos*. *Num. Chron.*, 1890, Pl. III, 14; *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, XVII, Pl. X, 8.

9. Tête de Pallas, coiffée du casque attique. *N. Chr.*, l. c., Pl. III, 12; *Z. f. N.*, l. c., Pl. X, 5.

Comp. Même tête. *Rev. OPONTA*, protome de pégase. *Æ* 3. 3 gr. 13. *Brit. Mus. Catal. Ionia*, Pl. XXXI, 8.

24. Tête du satrape Orontas. *Mus. Hunter*, T. 31, 22.

Comp. Même tête. *Rev. OPONTA*, protome de pégase. *Æ* 1. 1 gr. 10, ma coll. *Num. Zeitschr.*, III, p. 421.

27. Niké érigeant un trophée. *Catal. Mysia*, Pl. XIX, 9.

19. Gaia tenant des épis. *Catal. Mysia*, Pl. XIX, 4.

18. Tête barbue coiffée d'un casque conique lauré. *Catal. Mysia*, Pl. XIX, 3.

Comp. Hoplite grec, agenouillé à gauche et coiffé du même casque, **T**. *Rev. OPONTA*, demi-sanglier ailé, à droite. *Æ* 3. 2 gr. 79. *Catal. Ionia*, Pl. XXXI, 10.

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<sup>38</sup> Judeich, l. c. p. 178, 220, 301a.

— *Inédit.* Tête d'Athéna parthenos, vue de trois-quarts.  
*Coll. Waddington.*

22. Tête de Zeus, sans foudre. Luynes, *Choix*, Pl. X, 17.

Comp. Même tête. *Rev.* **OPONTA**, protome de pégase.  
*Æ* 2. 1 gr. 82. *Catal. Ionia*, Pl. XXXI, 9.

25. Tête de Ménade, ceinte de lierre et d'un diadème royal.  
*Mus. Hunter*, T. 31, 23; Luynes, *Choix*, Pl. X, 18; *Catal. Mysia*, Pl. XIX, 7.

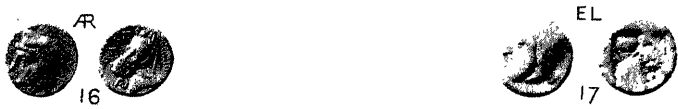
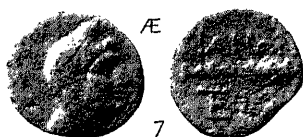
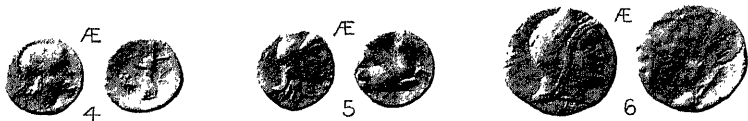
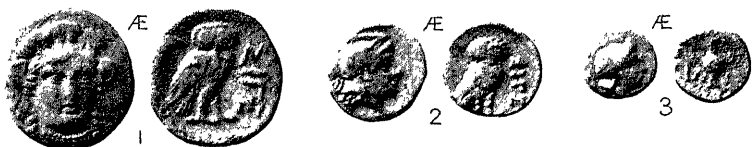
20. Tête voilée, couronnée de fleurs. Luynes; *Catal. Mysia*, Pl. XIX, 5.

La date de ce groupe est donnée par le statère à la tête d'Athéna parthenos, identique à celle des monnaies de Sigée, n. 1—3, en argent et en bronze, émises sous Charès. Ce statère a donc été frappé pendant que Charès était maître de Lampsaque, ce qu'il devint en 355.

Or en 353/2 les Athéniens s'allièrent avec Oronte, alors en guerre contre son souverain et envoyèrent une expédition à son aide sous Charidème, Charès et Phocion.<sup>39</sup> C'est alors qu'auront été frappés à Lampsaque, la ville de Charès, le statère n. 9, dont les types sont répétés sur la drachme d'Orontas, et le n. 24, à la tête du satrape. Car, quand après la victoire, n. 27, remportée à l'aide des Athéniens, Orontas se reconcilia avec le grand roi et obtint de lui la satrapie tant désirée,<sup>40</sup> il n'a certainement plus fait battre de l'or en concurrence avec les dariques de son maître. Orontas paraît être décédé en 345 env., et les statères n. 25 et 20 me semblent être postérieurs à cette date. Ils auront été émis par Memnon.

<sup>39</sup> *Corp. Inscr. Attic.*, II, 108b, c. Judeich, *l. c.*, p. 213—218.

<sup>40</sup> Probablement la même charge dont après la mort d'Orontas fut revêtu Mentor. Diodore, XVI, 50, 51. (*Ἀπραξέρξης*) ἀπέδειξε δὲ (Μέντορα) σατράπην τῆς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν παραλίας. *Corp. Inscr. Attic.*, II, 108a, décret en l'honneur d'Oronte, 349; Judeich, *l. c.*, p. 218.





XXII.—MITHRIDATE, DYNASTE DE CIOS ET DE CARÈNÉ,  
337—302.

CARÈNÉ.

1. Tête imberbe, coiffée de la tiare haute des dynastes, à droite.

*Rev.*—Protome de *pégase*, à droite.

Æ 2. 1 gr. 12. Coll. de Luynes, Babelon, *Perses achémén.*  
p. 56, n. 379, Pl. IX, 15 (Orontas).<sup>41</sup>

„ 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ . — Mus. de Berlin.

„ 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ . 0,86. Brit. Mus. [Pl. XIII, No. 5.]

CIOS.

2. Tête du même dynaste, la tiare ceinte de laurier, à droite.  
Au-dessous parfois Μ(εσιδάργς).

*Rev.*—K - I - A. *Canthare* d'où dépendent deux grappes  
de raisin, entouré de deux épis.

Æ 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  — Brit. Mus. *Catal. Pontus*, p. 131, n. 20—22,  
Pl. XXVIII, 13, 14. [Pl. XII, No. 6.]

„ 3 *Mus. Hunter*, p. 6, T. 2, 2.

*Mion.* I, p. 96, n. 1 ; *Pellerin, Rec.* I, Pl. VII,  
4 ; *Reinach, Rev. num.*, 1888, p. 239.

*Mion. Suppl.* V, p. 247, n. 1446, 1447  
(Sestini).

Æ 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ . 1,29. Ma coll.

*Brit. Mus.*, l. c., n. 23.

„ 2 *Leake, Num. Hellen., Asia*, p. 43.

1,15. Imhoof, *Monn. grecq.*, p. 239, n. 58.

<sup>41</sup> Des quatre monnaies classées par M. Babelon à Orontas, n. 376—379, il n'y en a qu'une, n. 376, qui lui revienne. Le n. 377 est un bronze fruste de Lampsaque : Tête d'Athéna, coiffée du casque corinthien à cimier et orné d'un serpent (copié d'après les statères d'or d'Alexandre), à gauche ; au-dessus ΛΑΜ. *Rev.* ΨΑ, protome de pégase, à droite ; dessous tête de lion.

Le n. 378, dont la tête barbue ne porte pas la tiare basse des satrapes, mais une espèce de calathos crénelé ou de couronne, est du même style que la tête fort pareille de la monnaie, décrite p. 17, n. 264, Pl. VI, 12, et classée par M. Babelon à la Cilicie, où le type du demi-pégase revient plus d'une fois, v. Pl. III, 6, Imhoof, *Monn. Grecq.*, p. 370, n. 65, 66.



## 3. Même tête, à droite.

*Rev.*—*Proue* de navire, à gauche ; au-dessus **KI**, dessous deux monogrammes.

Æ 2 — Imhoof, *l. c.* n. 59.

4. Même tête, au-dessous parfois **M**.

*Rev.*—**KIANΩN**. *Massue*, à droite ; au-dessous monogrammes.

Æ 4 — Neumann, *Pop. et regum. num. vet.*, II, T. 1, 2 ; Mion., *S.*, V. n. 1445 ; Reinach, *l. c.*, Pl. XVI, 1.

Mion. II, p. 492, n. 446.

Brit. Mus., *l. c.*, n. 17—19. [Pl. XIII, No. 7.]

Leake, *l. c.*, p. 42.

Sur l'exemplaire du n. 1 de la collection de Luynes, M. Babelon voit devant la tête du pégase une lettre rognée **A** ?, qu'il complète en (**OPONT**)**A** ?, mais, comme les deux autres exemplaires ne montrent pas de légende, cette lettre, dont je doute quelque peu, serait plutôt l'initiale du nom et pourrait alors être complétée en **M**, comme sur plusieurs exemplaires des n. 2 et 4. En tout cas, cette tête jeune et imberbe ne peut pas représenter le vieillard Orontas qui, sur ses monnaies, porte une barbe touffue et en outre la tiare basse des satrapes<sup>42</sup> et non la tiare plus haute dont sont coiffés les rois Lyciens<sup>43</sup> et autres dynastes.

Autant que je puis voir, la tête de ces petits bronzes, n. 1, est identique à celle des bronzes de Cios, n. 2—4, dans laquelle M. Reinach<sup>44</sup> a reconnu avec raison, le dynaste Mithridate, qui régna sur Cius et Carina de 337 à 302.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Photius, v. Τιάρα. κόσμος ἐπικεφάλαιος, ἣν οἱ βασιλεῖς μόνοι ὀρθὴν ἐφόρουν παρὰ Πέρσας, οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ κεκλιμένην.

<sup>43</sup> Babelon, *Perses achémén.* Pl. XIV, 18—20.

<sup>44</sup> Reinach, *Revue numism.*, 1888, p. 238, 239 ; *Mithridate Eupator*, p. 3—7.

<sup>45</sup> Diodore, XVI, 90. Περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς (337) Ἀριο-

Il était fils d'Ariobarzane qui portait le titre de roi et régna de 362 à 337, petit-fils d'un premier Mithridate, décédé en 362,<sup>46</sup> et descendant d'un des sept Perses conjurés contre le mage Smerdis.<sup>47</sup> C'est comme chef d'une de ces familles princières qu'il aura porté le titre de roi et la tiare haute, tant que le roi des rois régna sur les Perses.

Carina ou Caréné était une petite ville sur la côte de Mysie, en face de Mytilène, située entre Atarneus et Cisthéné et non loin d'Adramytteion.<sup>48</sup> Elle était assez éloignée de Cios, mais reliée avec elle par une route dont les habitants d'Apollonie du Rhyndacos, de Milétopolis et villes voisines se servaient pour trafiquer avec Adramytteion.<sup>49</sup>

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*βαρζάνης μὲν ἐτελεύτησε βασιλεύσας ἔτη εἴκοσι καὶ ἕξ (362—337), τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν διαδεξάμενος Μιθριδάτης ἤρξεν ἔτη πέντε πρὸς τοῖς τριάκοντα (337—302). XX, 111. περὶ δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους (302) καὶ Μιθριδάτης ὑπήκοος ὢν Ἀντιγόνῳ καὶ δόξας ἀφίστασθαι πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Κάσσανδρον ἀνηρέθῃ περὶ Κίον τῆς Μυσίας, ἄρξας αὐτῆς καὶ Καρίνης ἔτη τριάκοντα πέντε (337—302), τὴν δὲ δυναστείαν διαδεξάμενος Μιθριδάτης ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ πολλὰ προσεκλήσματο, τῆς δὲ Καππαδοκίας καὶ Παφλαγονίας ἤρξεν ἔτη τριάκοντα ἕξ (302—266).*

<sup>46</sup> Diodore, XV, 90 (362), ὃν ἦσαν ἐπιφανέστατοι Ἀριοβαρζάνης μὲν ὁ τῆς Φρυγίας σατράπης, ὃς καὶ Μιθριδάτου τελευτήσαντος τῆς τούτου βασιλείας κεκυριευκὼς ἦν.

<sup>47</sup> Diodore XIX, 40 (316), συνῆν δ' αὐτοῖς (σατράπαις) καὶ Μιθριδάτης ὁ Ἀριοβαρζάνου μὲν υἱός, ἀπύγονος δ' ἐνὸς τῶν ἑπτὰ Περσῶν τῶν συγκαθελόντων τὸν μάγον Σμέρδιν, ἀνὴρ ἀνδρεία διαφέρων καὶ τεθραμμένος ἐκ παιδὸς στρατιωτικῶς.

<sup>48</sup> Hérodote VII, 42. L'armée de Xerxès marche διὰ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος ἐς Καρίνην πόλιν· ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης διὰ Θήβης πεδίου ἐπορεύετο Ἀτραμυττεῖον τε πόλιν καὶ Ἀντανδρον τὴν Πελασγίδα παραμειβόμενος. Pline V, 122. Oppidum Pitane, Canaius amnis. Intercidere Canae, Lysimachia, Atarneae, Carene, Cisthene, Cylla, Cocylum, Thebe, Astyra, Chrysa, Palaescepsis, Gergitha, Neandros.

<sup>49</sup> Pline V, 123. Deportant Adramytteum negotia Apolloniatae a Rhyndaco amne Erisii, Miletopolitae, Poemaneni, etc.

Au milieu du 5<sup>e</sup> siècle Caréné avait fait part de la symmachie Athénienne<sup>50</sup> et ce n'est que plus tard que Mithridate ou Ariobarzane en auront pris possession.

Le type du demi-pégase, copié des statères d'or de Lampsaque, est fréquent dans ces parages. On le trouve à Adramytteion [Pl. XIII, No. 8], à Iolla, à Thébé, villes voisines de Caréné, sur des bronzes de la même époque,<sup>51</sup> et à Scepsis, sur la même route, le pégase entier.<sup>52</sup>

Le type convient donc parfaitement à Caréné et c'est pourquoi je propose d'attribuer à cette ville les petits bronzes, sur lesquels je crois reconnaître la tête de son dynaste Mithridate; je voudrais les dater du commencement de son règne, époque à laquelle le style paraît le mieux convenir. Les bronzes de Cios, n. 2—4, seraient des dernières années de sa vie quand il était le compagnon d'Eumène et d'Antigone.

D'après le type de la proue, le bronze, n. 3, semble être une division des statères d'or de Cios au même revers, ce qui indiquerait que ces statères et les monnaies en argent correspondantes auraient été émises avant la mort de Mithridate en 302. Autrefois,<sup>53</sup> j'ai daté ces rares statères des années 321 à 318, quand Arrhidaïos ou Arrhabaios était satrape de la Phrygie sur l'Hellespont. Mais comme Mithridate était le vassal, ὑπήκοος, d'Antigone, je

<sup>50</sup> Steph. Byz., Καρήνη, πόλις Μυσίας.—Κρατερὸς γὰρ περὶ ψηφισμάτων. “Γρυνεῖς Πιταναῖοι Καρηναῖοι.” Fragment d'une liste des tributaires à la symmachie Athénienne.

<sup>51</sup> Imhoof, *Monn. grecq.* p. 245—247. A Adramytteion revient peut-être, d'après le symbole de l'épi, la pièce d'or suivante: Protome de pégase, un collier autour du cou, à droite; au-dessous épi à gauche. Rev.—Carré creux divisé en quatre parties. Beau style. EL. 1½. 2 gr. 06 (huitième d'un statère de 16 gr. 50). Ma coll.; *Catal. Hamilton*, 1867, n. 305.

<sup>52</sup> Imhoof, *Griech. Muenzen*, p. 103, n. 228.

<sup>53</sup> *Num. Chron.* 1885 (Sinope), p. 42.

me demande maintenant si ce ne serait pas Antigone qui a fait battre cet or dans la ville de Mithridate et si *l'aigle royal*, qui se voit dans le champ, ne serait pas le symbole du roi d'Asie.<sup>54</sup> Dans ce cas cet aigle pourrait servir à retrouver les monnaies qu'Antigone fit sans doute frapper ailleurs.

Ainsi, sur les bronzes<sup>55</sup> émis par les Cébrenéens dans le nouveau site, où les avait transplantés Antigone, le nom de la ville, *Antigonée*, serait exprimé par un *aigle*, le symbole du fondateur, et **K aigle E** signifierait : les Cébrenéens d'Antigone ou d'Antigonée.

XXIII.—GORGION, DYNASTE DE GAMBREION, 399.

1. Tête laurée d'*Apollon*, les cheveux longs, à droite.

Rev.— $\begin{array}{c} \Gamma \text{ O P \\ \Gamma \quad | \end{array}$ , protome de taureau cornupète, à droite ; champ concave. Sur le flanc du taureau  $\varphi$  ( $\Gamma \text{ O } \Gamma$ ) en contremarque.

Æ 3/2½. 3,88. Cab. de France ; *Catal. Allier*, p. 61, Pl. VIII, 1 ; Sestini, *Mus. Hederv.* II, p. 1, 1 ; Mion., *Suppl.*, IV, p. 415, n. 1 ; *Galerie mythol.*, p. 128, Pl. XXXVII, 4 ; Koehne, *Mus. Kotchoubey*, I, p. 417 ; Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 422 ; Babelon, *Perses achémén.* p. 55, n. 375, Pl. IX, 11.

2. Autre,  $\begin{array}{c} \Gamma \text{ O P \\ \Gamma \quad (I) \end{array}$  ; sans contremarque.

Æ 1½. 1,58. Coll. Imhoof. [Pl. XIII, No. 9.]

3. Tête d'*Apollon* du n. 2 et, à ce qu'il paraît, du même coin.

Rev.— $\Gamma \text{ A M}$ , même type.

Æ 1½. 1,68<sup>5</sup>. Brit. Mus. ; Gardner, *Num. Chron.*, 1886, p. 257, Pl. XI, 10 ; Head, *l. c.*, p. 500 ; *Cat. Mysia*, p. 62, n. 1, Pl. XV, 6. [Pl. XIII, No. 10.]

<sup>54</sup> Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, p. ii, iii.

<sup>55</sup> Brit. Mus., *Catal. Troas*, p. 45, n. 30—33, 35—37, Pl. VIII, 18—21.

4. Même ? tête d'Apollon, à gauche.

*Rev.*—Même type, sans légende.

Æ 1. — Leake, *Num. Hellen.*, Asia, p. 61.

5. Tête du n. 3, à droite.

*Rev.*—Taureau cornupète, à gauche; sans légende.<sup>56</sup>

Æ 1. 1,00; 0,80. Ma coll.

0,99; 0,95. Mus. de Berlin. Brandis, *Muenzw.*, p. 564.

0,95. Coll. Imhoof.

0,92. Cab de France.<sup>57</sup>

— *B. M. Cat. Mysia*, p. 63, n. 14—16, Pl. XV, 10.

— Cab. de Munich, Sestini, *Lett. Num. Cont.*, III, p. 72; Mion., *S.*, VI, p. 224, n. 964.

— Leake, *l. c.*, p. 61.

6. Autre, astre à huit rayons au-dessus du taureau.

Æ 1. 0,85. Ma coll. [Pl. XIII, No. 11.]

— Brit. Mus., n. 17.

La drachme, n. 1, classée jusqu'alors à Gorgippia, ville du Bosphore Cimmérien, vient d'être restituée par M. Babelon,<sup>58</sup> à Gorgion, fils de l'Erétrien Gongylos et dynaste de Gambreion et Palaigambreion, mentionné, en 399, par Xénophon.<sup>59</sup>

Comme cette rectification me paraît certaine, il n'y aurait pas lieu de revenir sur ce sujet, si je n'étais à même, par l'amitié de M. Imhoof, d'augmenter la série monétaire

<sup>56</sup> Les initiales de Gambreion, ΓΑΜ, se lisent sur les bronzes, aux mêmes types, mais de plus grand module, Æ 3—4, et du poids de 3 gr. 45, 3 gr. 10 (Brandis, p. 564), et 3 gr. 05 (Imhoof), et qui, d'après le style, sont postérieurs à Alexandre.

<sup>57</sup> M. Babelon a bien voulu me communiquer le poids exact de cet exemplaire.

<sup>58</sup> Babelon, *Mélanges numism.* 2<sup>e</sup> série, p. 193—197; *Perses achémén.* p. lxxviii., lxxix.

<sup>59</sup> Xénophon, *Hellen.* III, 1, 6. Γοργίων καὶ Γογγύλος, ἀδελφοὶ ὄντες, ἔχοντες ὁ μὲν Γάμβρειον καὶ Παλαιγάμβρειον, ὁ δὲ Μύριναν καὶ Γρύνειον.


du dynaste en faisant connaître l'hémidrachme de Gorgion, n. 2, jusqu'ici inédit, dont la tête d'Apollon paraît être du *même coin* que celle de l'hémidrachme, n. 3, de la ville de Gambreion, particularité qui confirme en tous points l'attribution proposée.

Enfin, si je n'avais pas à proposer une explication pour le monogramme apposé en contremarque sur la drachme, n. 1.

Ce monogramme paraît formé des lettres ΓΟΓ, les initiales du nom de Gongylos, ΓΟΓγύλος, frère de Gorgion et dynaste de Myrina et de Gryneion; ce serait donc lui qui aurait apposé sa signature sur les drachmes de son frère pour leur donner cours dans ses propres états. Si cette hypothèse est fondée il faudra assigner au même dynaste les bronzes suivants sur lesquels le monogramme figure comme type et comme légende.

GONGYLOS, DYNASTE DE MYRINA ET DE GRYNEION.

7. Tête diadémée d'*Apollon*, les cheveux longs, à *gauche*.

Rev.—; champ concave.

Æ 1½. 1,24. Coll. Imhoof.

8. Tête laurée d'*Artemis*, à *droite*.

Rev.—Feuille de *lierre*; au-dessus O—.

Æ 1½. 1,18. Ma coll. [Pl. XIII, No. 13]; *Catal. Whittall*, 1867, n. 936.

— *Mus. Hunter*, p. 190, n. 37, T. 35, n. 24.

— Sestini, *Mus. Hederv.* I, p. 9, T. II, 11.

1,43. Coll. Imhoof. Traces du monogramme. [Pl. XIII, No. 12.]

— Rauch, *Berlin. Blätter*, V, 1870, p. 14, Pl. LVI, 5. La monogramme ne paraît pas.

1,21. Brit. Mus. [Pl. XIII, No. 14.]

La tête diadémée du n. 7 est *identique* à celle de l'hémidrachme du dynaste de Teuthrania :

Tête d'*Apollon*, les cheveux longs et ceints d'une ténie, à gauche.

*Rev.*—Tête jeune et imberbe, coiffée de la tiare des dynastes, dont les fanons dépendent le long du cou, à droite; derrière **TEY**.

Æ 1½. 1,60. Coll. Loebbecke; Imhoof, *Griech. Muenzen*, p. 95, T. VII, 14; Six, *Num. Chron.* 1890, p. 188, 1; *Catal. Whittall*, 1884, n. 818.

Cet hemidrachme est donc contemporain du bronze de Gongylos et j'ai eu tort de le placer à la fin du 4<sup>e</sup> siècle et de l'attribuer à Proclès, le gendre d'Aristote.<sup>60</sup> Comme l'a vu M. Babelon,<sup>61</sup> il doit avoir été frappé par le Proclès que Xénophon mentionne comme dynaste de Teuthranie en 401 et en 399.<sup>62</sup>

Mais alors il faudra admettre que ces monnaies ont été émises avant 401 (quand Proclès prit part à l'expédition de Cyrus) et lorsqu'il était encore trop jeune pour porter la barbe selon la mode du temps, ce qui me paraît fort probable; ou bien, que la tête imberbe n'est pas celle de Proclès, mais, comme le monogramme composé de Π et Ψ du bronze correspondant l'indiquerait, celle du jeune héros Πέλοψ, qui donna son nom au Péloponnèse, où les ancêtres de Proclès avaient régné et que Démarate quitta pour venir s'établir en Teuthrania.

Il n'est pas improbable qu'on retrouvera quelque jour des monnaies de Gongylos d'une valeur supérieure à celle de ces petits bronzes. En attendant, la nouvelle attribution, proposée par M. Babelon pour les monnaies de son frère Gorgion, permet non seulement d'introduire deux

<sup>60</sup> *Num. Chron.* 1890, p. 188—190.

<sup>61</sup> *Mélang. numism.*, 2<sup>e</sup> sér. p. 197, 198; *Perses. achém.*, p. lxxi.

<sup>62</sup> Xén. *Anabase*, II, 1, 3; VII, 8, 17; *Hellen.* III, 1, 6.

nouveaux dynastes dans les séries monétaires de l'Asie mineure, mais elle fournit, en outre, une date certaine pour la tête d'Apollon, à *cheveux longs*, qui se voit sur des hectés en or pâle et des monnaies en argent de Mytilène, au revers d'une tête de femme ou d'une lyre, encadrés par un carré de lignes ; dans le champ, un petit serpent, comme symbole.<sup>63</sup>

La tête d'Apollon, à *cheveux courts*, par contre, appartient à une époque antérieure, comme le prouve le style souvent quelque peu archaïque des nombreuses hectés de Mytilène à ce type.

Je n'aurais donc pas dû classer à Hellas, la veuve de Gongylos l'Erétrien, des monnaies de Pergame à cette tête, qui auraient fort bien pu être émises par Gongylos lui-même et, maintenant que M. Babelon les a restituées aux Démaratides et notamment à Eurysthénès, le frère de Proclès,<sup>64</sup> je me demande comment ce vieillard—comme le nomme M. Babelon—avec sa barbe longue et touffue, peut être le frère du Proclès jeune et imberbe des monnaies de Teuthrania, de *date postérieure*.

Ne vaudrait-il pas mieux assigner les monnaies de Pergame au père d'Eurysthénès et de Proclès, dont le nom nous est inconnu, mais qui aura possédé en entier le domaine de Démarate, partagé plus tard entre ses deux

<sup>63</sup> EL 1. *Hunter*, T. 66, 12 ; *Sestini*, *Statere*, T. VII, 21—23 ; *Luynes*, *Choix*, Pl. X, 6 ; ma coll.

AR 2½. *Rev.*—Lyre, *Mion.* III, p. 43, n. 75 ; ma coll. etc.

AR 1½. *Rev.*—Lyre. *Rev.*—Tête de femme. Ma coll. Head, *Hist. num.*, p. 487.

<sup>64</sup> *Mélang. num.* 2<sup>e</sup> ser. p. 199—204 ; *Pers. achém.* p. lxxi, lxxii, p. 55, n. 373, 374, Pl. IX, 9, 10 ; cp. Xénophon, *Hellen.* III, 1, 6. πόλεις Ιεράγαμον—καὶ Τευθρανίαν καὶ Ἀλίσαρναν, ὧν Εὐρυσθένης καὶ Προκλῆς ἤρχον οἱ ἀπὸ Δαμαράτου τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου.



file, et auquel, par conséquent une émission abondante de monnaies en or et en argent conviendrait bien mieux.

#### XXIV.—ANCHIALÉ OU ANCHIALOS DE CILICIE.

6<sup>e</sup> ET 5<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE.

1. *Niké* volant à droite ou à gauche, en retournant la tête.

*Rev.*—*Bétyle* carré ou conique dans un carré creux profond.

Æ 4. 12 gr. *Revue num.* 1860, Pl. I, 1; Imhoof, *Monn. grecq.* Pl. G, 1, 2; *Annuaire de Num.* 1883, Pl. V, 2, 3; *Rev. num.* 1886, Pl. III, 10; *Num. Chron.* 1886, Pl. I, 5; 1890, Pl. XIX, 18.

2. *Rev.*—*Griffon*, à gauche; carré creux bordé d'un grénétis.

Æ 2½. 2,94. Imhoof, *Choix*, Pl. V, 179; *Annuaire*, n. 4; *Zeitschr. f. Num.* VI, Pl. III, 5.

3. *Niké* volant à gauche, tenant sceptre ou caducée et couronne.

*Rev.*—*Bétyle* conique entre deux grappes de raisin; carré creux.

Æ 5. 11,65. *Rev. num.* 1860, n. 2; *Monn. grecq.* n. 4; *Annuaire*, n. 5—7; *Z. f. N.* XVI, Pl. X, 1, 2, 4.

4. Autre, ▽, et, sur un des exemplaires, lettre sur le bétyle.

Æ 5. 11,70. *Rev. num.* 1860, n. 3—5; *Annuaire*, n. 8—10; *Z. f. N.* XVI, n. 3, 5—7.

5. *Rev.*—Même bétyle entre ▽ et Γ. Des globules ou des traits dans le champ ou sur la pierre servent à distinguer les émissions postérieures.

Æ 5. 11,70. *Rev. num.* 1860, n. 6; *Annuaire*, n. 11, 12; *Z. f. N.* n. 8—11.

Cette belle série de poids et de fabrique Cilicienne a été classée par M. Imhoof à Mallos de Cilicie<sup>65</sup> et cette attri-

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<sup>65</sup> *Monnaies grecques*, p. 356—361; *Annuaire Soc. Fr. de Numism.* 1883, p. 123.

bution a été généralement adoptée; pour moi, elle n'était que provisoire tant que les lettres  $\nabla$   $\Gamma$  n'auraient pas trouvé d'explication satisfaisante.

Car ce sont bien des lettres et non des symboles, comme M. Svoronos a taché de le démontrer.<sup>66</sup> Ses arguments ne m'ont pas convaincu.

Aussi ai-je cherché depuis longtemps après la valeur de ces lettres jusqu'à ce qu'enfin je me suis demandé si ce  $\nabla$  ne serait pas une forme archaïque et fort insolite—il est vrai—de la lettre grecque  $\Lambda$ .

Parmi les inscriptions grecques les plus anciennes je ne trouve rien d'exactly pareil, mais quelquefois pourtant  $\Lambda$  revêt une forme très peu différente, comme dans quelques inscriptions béotiennes, Roehl, *Inscr. graec. antiquiss.* n. 134,  $\nabla$ , n. 168,  $\Delta$ , dans celle de Locres, n. 307,  $\Delta \Delta \Delta \nabla$ , et dans celle d'Amorgos  $\Delta$ .<sup>67</sup> Ce qui en approche le plus ce sont les  $\Lambda$  de l'inscription carienne publiée par M. Sayce,<sup>68</sup> où nous rencontrons  $\Delta \Delta \Delta$  dans des mots qui ne laissent pas de doute sur la valeur de ces signes que M. Sayce a pris avec raison pour des  $\Lambda$ .

Le  $\Gamma$  ne diffère pas sensiblement de sa forme primitive.<sup>69</sup>

Si donc je suis en droit d'assigner la valeur  $\alpha$  au  $\nabla$  des monnaies décrites, la légende serait à rendre par  $\Lambda \Gamma$  et nous aurions les initiales d' $\Lambda \Gamma \chi \acute{\iota} \alpha \lambda \eta$ ,  $\alpha \gamma \chi \acute{\iota} \alpha \lambda \omicron \varsigma$  et même  $\alpha \gamma \chi \acute{\iota} \alpha \lambda \epsilon \iota \alpha$  ( $\pi \acute{o} \lambda \iota \varsigma$ ), ville située au bord de la mer, comme

<sup>66</sup> Svoronos, *Sternbilder als Muenztypen*, *Zeitschr. f. Numism.* XVI, p. 219—232.

<sup>67</sup> *Mittheil. archaeol. Institut. Athen.* XVIII, 1893, p. 33.

<sup>68</sup> *Transact. Soc. Bibl. Archaeol.* IX, p. 146, Pl. I, II, Memphis 4.

<sup>69</sup> Roehl, *Inscr. Graec. antiquiss.* n. 482. Abu-Simbel, n. 483. Didyma et ailleurs.

son nom l'indique, entre Zephyrium et Tarse et près de l'embouchure du Cydne, qui coule au travers de Tarse. Elle peut donc bien avoir été anciennement le port de Tarse pour les navires qui ne remontaient pas le Cydne, et pour les Grecs qui trafiquaient sur la côte, mais qui n'étaient peut-être pas toujours admis dans l'intérieur du pays.

D'après la théogonie cilicienne Anchialé fut fondée par Anchialé, fille de Iapetos, un des fils d'Ouranos et de Gé. C'est, à juger par son nom, la déesse du littoral, de la plaine fertile, aussi donne-t-elle naissance au Cydne et celui-ci à son tour à la ville de Tarse, située sur ses rives.<sup>70</sup>

On ne sait si Anchialé existait déjà en 834, quand le roi d'Assyrie Salmanassar II poussa en Cilicie jusqu'à Tarse et reçut le tribut d'argent et d'or de ses habitants.<sup>71</sup>

Mais, entre 699 et 696, Sénachérib eut à lutter contre les Grecs qui faisaient des incursions sur la côte et qui peut-être s'étaient déjà établis à Anchialé et ailleurs et après les avoir battus sur terre et sur mer et avoir dévasté les villes ciliciennes, il rebâtit Tarse, à l'instar de Babylone, sur les deux rives du Cydne et y érigea

<sup>70</sup> Steph. Byz. Ἀγχιάλη, πόλις Κιλικίας παραθαλασσία (πρὸς) τῇ Ταρσὶ καὶ Ζεφυρίῳ. ἔστι δὲ κτίσμα Ἀγχιάλης τῆς Ἰαπετοῦ θυγατρὸς, ὡς Ἀθηνόδωρος περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ πατρίδος γράφων—γίνεται δ' Ἰαπετοῦ θυγάτηρ Ἀγχιάλη καὶ κτίζει πόλιν Ἀγχιάλην,—γεννᾷ δ' υἱὸν Κύδνον,—ὃ δὲ Κύδνος υἱὸν Παρθένιον, κ.τ.λ.

Steph. Byz. v. Ἀδανα.—ἔστι δὲ ὃ Ἀδανὸς Γῆς καὶ Οὐρανοῦ παῖς καὶ Ὁσταςος καὶ Σάνδης καὶ Κρόνος καὶ Πέα καὶ Ἰαπετὸς καὶ Ὀλυμβρος.

<sup>71</sup> Inscr. de Salmanassar II; Schrader, *Keilschr. Biblioth.* I, p. 145: Im 26 meiner Regierungsjahren (834)—Ich zog nach Tarzi. Sie ergriffen meine Fuesse, und ich empfang Silber und Gold als ihren Tribut. Tiele, *Babyl.-Assyr. Geschichte*, p. 203.

une stèle à son image en signe de victoire et de domination.<sup>72</sup>

C'est donc Sénachérib, sans doute, qui, d'après les auteurs grecs, fonda Tarse et Anchialé en un jour et qu'ils désignent par le nom de Sardanapale.<sup>73</sup> Encore en 333, quand Alexandre passa par Anchialos, les restes et l'ampleur de l'enceinte murée attestaient l'antique splendeur et la prospérité de la ville de Sénachérib et la stèle d'un roi d'Assyrie (Sénachérib ou Assurbanipal ?) était encore debout près des murs, à l'entrée de la ville.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Berosus (Euseb. *Chron.*, Schoene I, p. 27). Quum ille (Senecheribus) fama accepisset Iones in Cilicum terras belli movendi causa pervenisse, eo contendebat, aciem contra aciem instruebat ac multis de suo exercitu caesis hostes bello vincebat atque in victoriae monumentum imaginem suam eo in loco erectam relinquebat, chaldaicisque litteris fortitudinem ac virtutem suam ad futurorum temporum memoriam incidere jubebat. Et Tarsum urbem—ad similitudinem Babylonis condidit, nomenque urbi imponebat Tharsin.

Abydenus (*Ibid.* p. 35). Sinecherib—in maris littore terrae Cilicum classem navali proelio certantem navium graecarum profligans vicit; condiditque templum Atheniensium(?), columnas aereas erexit, litterisque—fortia sua facinora insculpsit et Tarsum—aedificavit ita ut per mediam Tarsum Cydnus fluvius transiret, etc. Tiele, *Babyl.-Assyr. Gesch.* p. 298.

Inscr. de Sanhérib. Schrader, *Keilschr. Biblioth.* II, p. 119. Die Leute von Chilakki die Bewohner von Bergwaeldern, bezwang ich mit Waffengewalt, ihre Staedte zerstorte, verwestete, verbrannte ich mit Feuer.

<sup>73</sup> Athénée, XII, 530; Strabon, XIV, 5, 9. Εἶτα Ζεφύριον—εἶτ' Ἀγχιάλῃ μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης, κτίσμα Σαρδαναπάλλου, φησὶν Ἀριστόβουλος, κ. τ. λ.

<sup>74</sup> Arrien, *Anabuse*, II, 5. αὐτὸς δὲ (Ἀλέξανδρος) ὕστερος ἄρας ἐκ Ταρσοῦ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ εἰς Ἀγχιάλον πόλιν ἀφικνέται· ταύτην δὲ Σαρδανάπαλον κτίσαι τὸν Ἀσσύριον λόγος· καὶ τῷ περιβόλῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς θεμελίοις τῶν τειχῶν δῆλῃ ἐστὶ μεγάλη τε πόλις κτισθεῖσα καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα ἐλθοῦσα δυνάμει· καὶ τὸ μνημα τοῦ Σαρδαναπάλου ἐγγὺς ἦν τῶν τειχῶν τῶν Ἀγχιάλου· καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφειστέκει ἐπ' αὐτῷ Σαρδανάπαλος. Ed. Meyer, *Forsch. zur alten Geschichte*, I, 1892, p. 203—209.

Vers la fin du 5<sup>e</sup> siècle, Anchialé paraît avoir perdu son importance, car en 401 elle n'est pas nommée par Xénophon<sup>75</sup> parmi les villes de la côte et la riche série de monnaies, du meilleur style grec, finit brusquement vers l'époque où la symmachie Athénienne se dissout après le désastre de l'armée Athénienne à Syracuse, 413, et où l'atelier de Tarse, qui remplacera celui d'Anchialé, commence à fonctionner d'abord pour le roi de Cilicie, puis pour les satrapes Autophradate, Tiribaze, Pharnabaze, Datame(?), qui se succèdent dans le commandement des armées et de la flotte du roi de Perse.

La lacune que l'attribution à Anchialé des monnaies au type de la Niké occasionne dans la série de Mallos, n'a pas grande importance, car les monnaies au type du cygne commencent plus tôt que ne le croyait jadis M. Imhoof, puisque leur style est parfois plus archaïque que celui des statères au bétyle, sur lesquels l'œil de la Niké est souvent représenté tout-à-fait en profil, comme sur les statères au cygne les plus récents.

Pour plus de clarté, je place les deux séries en regard l'une de l'autre.

## ANCHIALÉ.

## MALLOS.

Niké. <i>Rev.</i> — Bétyle, carré creux.	Divinité mâle volant. <i>Rev.</i> — Carré creux.
<i>Rev.</i> — Griffon ; carré creux bordé d'un grénétis.	<i>Rev.</i> — Sirène ; carré creux bordé d'un grénétis [Imhoof, <i>Monn. grecq.</i> , p. 466, n. 42, où la figure virile est décrite à tort comme Gorgone].

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<sup>75</sup> Xénophon, *Anabase*, I, 2, 24. οἱ παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν οἰκοῦντες ἐν Σόλοις καὶ ἐν Ἰσσοῖς.

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|---|---|
|   | Cronos à double face volant.<br><i>Rev.</i> — Cygne, aire creuse.<br>Très archaïque. [Coll. Loebbecke.] |
| <i>Rev.</i> —Pierre conique, grappes de raisin. | Divinité mâle et barbue volant.<br><i>Rev.</i> —Cygne.  |
| <i>Rev.</i> —Mêmes types, ▽.                    | Buste de Cronos volant; Ache-loos. <i>Rev.</i> —Cygne.  |
| <i>Rev.</i> —Pierre conique, ▽—Γ.               | Divinité mâle et imberbe volant.<br><i>Rev.</i> —Cygne.   |

On voit que d'après le style, les deux séries correspondent et qu'elles ne sont pas consécutives mais contemporaines. La seule différence est que la série d'Anchialé finit vers 413 ou peu après, tandis que celle de Mallos continue, mais avec des types nouveaux et qu'au 4<sup>e</sup> siècle l'atelier de Mallos produit avec ceux de Soli, de Tarse et d'Issos les nombreuses espèces requises par les satrapes pour la solde de leurs troupes.

J'ai donné le nom de Niké à la déesse ailée parceque ce nom est inscrit à Térina d'Italie à côté d'une déesse qui sur les monnaies postérieures porte les mêmes attributs, sceptre, caducée, couronne, etc. Mais je crois qu'en réalité ce n'est pas Niké, mais l'éponyme de la ville, Anchialé, la fille de Iapetos, représentée avec les attributs de la victoire, du commerce et de la paix, comme une autre Niké, Iris et Eiréné. M. Crusius a très bien développé cette idée d'une ville représentée sous forme de déesse ailée.<sup>76</sup> A Cyrènes c'est tantôt Niké, tantôt Cyrène qui conduit le quadriges sur les statères d'or et puisqu'il y avait une Athèna-Niké, pourquoi ne pas admettre une Térina-Niké

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<sup>76</sup> Crusius, *Kyrene unter Daemonen*, *Philologus* LII, 1894, p. 703—714.

et une Anchialé-Niké? Une ville grecque en pleine Cilicie n'était-ce pas une victoire remportée sur les barbares par l'entreprise et le commerce des Grecs?

Quant au bétyle, il serait difficile de trouver le nom de la divinité dont il était le symbole, si le griffon ne nous indiquait Apollon et si les grappes de raisin n'affectaient parfois la forme d'oiseaux, perchés sur la pierre, comme les aigles d'or sur l'omphalos dans le temple d'Apollon à Delphes. En outre, Apollon était souvent représenté sous la forme d'une pierre conique,<sup>77</sup> dont la description répond fort bien à l'image fournie par les statères les plus récents de la série d'Anchialé.

Enfin les grappes de raisin, de grandeur peu commune, symbolisent parfaitement la fertilité de cette plaine, si bien décrite par Xénophon,<sup>78</sup> remplie d'arbres fruitiers de toute espèce et de vignes, et je ne vois aucune nécessité d'y chercher avec M. Svoronos un sens caché et d'y voir la constellation des Pleiades sous forme de grappes.

## XXV.—TARSUS ET POSIDIUM, AUTOPHRADATES, 390.

1. *Satrape* jeune et imberbe, vêtu du costume perse, coiffé de la tiare basse des satrapes, dont les fanons lui couvrent le menton, les épaules couvertes d'un ample manteau et tenant de la main droite un glaive court. Il est monté sur un *cheval* galopant, à droite.

*Rev.*—**ΙΗΤ** (ΙΗΤ), *Hoplite* grec imberbe, à demi-agenouillé, à gauche, armé d'une cuirasse, d'un *casque* corinthien à cimier, d'une épée suspendue à un

<sup>77</sup> Reisch dans Wissowa-Pauly, *Real-Encycl.*, I, p. 911, Agyieus, κίων ἐς ὃξὺ λήγων, κωνοειδὴς κίων, ὀβελίσκος, λίθος παρεχόμενος πυραμίδος σχῆμα οὐ μεγάλης. J. Six, der Agyieus des Mys., *Mittheil. Arch. Inst. Athen.*, xix. 1894, p. 340—345.

<sup>78</sup> Xénophon, *Anabase*, I, 2, 22: πεδίων μέγα καὶ καλόν, ἐπὶ ῥυτον, καὶ δένδρων παντοδαπῶν ἔμπλεων καὶ ἀμπέλων.

baudrier, d'un bouclier orné d'une tête de Méduse sans serpents et la bouche close et d'une haste.

AR 5. 10 gr. 62 fourré. Ma coll.

10,55. Cab. de France, Babelon, *Perses achémén.* p. 17, n. 141, Pl. III, 3.

10,55. Cab. de Copenhague. [Pl. XIII, No. 15.]

10,85. Coll. de Luynes, Babelon, *l. c.* n. 142, Pl. III, 4. Contremarqué d'un loup courant à droite; autour lettres araméennes.

10,80. Brit. Mus.; *Num. Chron.* 1884, p. 156, Pl. V, 4.

2. Tête imberbe, à gauche, du même *hoplite* grec, coiffé du casque corinthien à cimier, un manteau agrafé autour du cou.

Rev.—Tête de Méduse sans serpents et la bouche close, les cheveux épars et ornée de pendants d'oreilles.

AR 2. 0,79. Imhoof; *Monn. grecq.* p. 372, n. 73, Pl. G, 13.

0,60. Cab. de France; Babelon, *l. c.* p. 37, n. 265, Pl. VI, 13.

3. Tête de *satrape*, jeune et imberbe, coiffé de la tiare basse des *satrapes*.

Rev.—ΟΑΤΑφπαδάροῦ. Buste de cheval harnaché, à gauche. Devant ΠΟ en monogramme.

AR 1. 1,02. Imhoof; *Monn. grecq.* p. 248, n. 96 et p. 481; *Portraetkoeppfe*, p. 23.

1 — Brit. Mus.; *Head, Catal. Ionia*, p. 327, n. 20, Pl. XXXI, 13. [Pl. XIII, No. 16.]

En 391 les habitants d'Amathonte, de Soli et de Citium se plaignirent auprès du roi de Perse, Artaxerxès II, de la conduite du roi de Salamine, Euagoras I, qui, après s'être emparé de gré ou de force de la plupart des villes cypriotes, portait atteinte à leur liberté et menaçait de subjuguier l'île entière. Le grand roi leur promit aide, mais, comme il était occupé lui-même d'une expédition contre l'Égypte, il donna ordre au dynaste de la Carie,



Hécatomnos, de réunir les forces nécessaires et de combattre Euagoras.<sup>79</sup> Il lui adjoignit—pour contrôler le Carien—un jeune Perse du plus haut rang, Autophradate, qui fut nommé commandant en chef de l'armée et reçut le titre de satrape de Lydie.<sup>80</sup> Strouthas, qui siégeait à Sardes comme Caranos, garda le gouvernement de la satrapie et y fut succédé par Tiribaze.<sup>81</sup> Hécatomnos eut le commandement de la flotte. Les troupes se réunirent sans doute, comme toujours, en Cilicie et passèrent de là en Cypre, 390, mais Autophradate n'eut par de succès, entravé comme il le fut par Hécatomnos, qui était d'accord en secret avec Euagoras et n'avait aucun intérêt à lui nuire. Aussi celui-ci continua d'agrandir son royaume et parvint même, en 387, avec l'aide de Chabrias de se rendre maître de l'île entière.

Ce ne fut qu'en 386, après la paix d'Antalcidas, qu'Artaxerxès put enfin s'occuper lui-même des affaires Cypriotes et une nouvelle expédition, sous Orontas et Tiribazos, eut meilleur succès.<sup>82</sup>

On ne sait si Autophradate garda le commandement de l'armée jusqu'alors, mais il est probable qu'il tomba bientôt en disgrâce, car ce n'est que vingt ans après, vers 368, que nous le retrouvons, toujours comme satrape de Lydie, occupé à combattre Datame. Depuis il est souvent nommé, la dernière fois vers 355.<sup>83</sup> Il doit donc avoir été

<sup>79</sup> Diodore, XIV, 98. Ἑκατόμνω δὲ Καρίας δυνάστη προσέταξε πολεμεῖν τῷ Εὐαγόρᾳ.

<sup>80</sup> Théopompe, XII, fr. III. ὅπως τε ὁ βασιλεὺς Εὐαγόρᾳ συνεπέσθῃ πολεμῆσαι στρατῆγον ἐπιστήσας Αὐτοφραδάτην τὸν Αὐδίας σατράπην, ναύαρχον δὲ Ἑκατόμνων.

<sup>81</sup> Krumholz, *de Asiae min. satrap. persis*, p. 64—66 ; Judeich, *Kleinas.-Studien*, p. 307.

<sup>82</sup> Judeich, *l. c.* p. 120—123.

<sup>83</sup> Judeich, *l. c.* p. 194—208.

fort jeune, trente-cinq ans auparavant, quand il fut envoyé contre Euagoras et c'est pourquoi j'aimerais à le reconnaître dans le satrape jeune et imberbe des statères de Tarse et de la petite monnaie à la légende **OATA**, qui fait partie de la même série que le statère ; c'est la même tête et le même cheval de bataille, fort différent de style des chevaux qu'on rencontre d'ordinaire sur les monnaies grecques. Et c'est bien un satrape, et non un roi de Cilicie, comme le montre sa tiare basse, pareille à celle des autres satrapes Pharnabaze, Tissapherne, Tiribaze, tandis que le roi de Cilicie porte une tiare bien plus haute et presque droite sur le statère du Cabinet de Munich, que j'ai décrit *Numism. Chron.*, 1884, p. 154, n. 7 et dont M. Babelon a publié la drachme, *Pers. achém.* p. 17, n. 140, Pl. III. 2. C'est un vieillard à longue barbe, probablement le roi Syennesis, qui régnait encore en 401.

La légende **OATA** a déjà été complétée par M. Imhoof en 'Οαταφραδάτου, mais cette supposition ingénieuse serait restée problématique si deux inscriptions Lyciennes n'étaient venues dernièrement la confirmer. D'abord une inscription funéraire, recueillie à Port Sevedo (Phellos) par MM. Benndorf et Kalinka et dont je dois connaissance à leur obligeance, par l'entremise de M. J. Imbert. Un Lycien, à nom barbare, y est dit *κ̑ταvατα* **FATPΓPΔΔPT↑↑**, hyparque ? ou stratège ? de Vataprdata, comme d'autres Lyciens se disent *κ̑ταvατα* de Caricas, le roi de Xanthos, ou de Periclès, le roi des Lyciens. Puis, sur le tombeau de Paiava, au British Museum, où Savelsberg<sup>84</sup> lisait : **PAT[PT]PTA**  
**↓SSPΔPPTA ΓA[PIT]A**, M. W. Arkwright

<sup>84</sup> *Beitrag z. Entz. d. Lyk. Sprachdenkm.* II, p. 200, T. III, 2.

a reconnu, avec sa perspicacité ordinaire, qu'il fallait lire :

**ΦΑΤ[ΑΡΡΑ]ΔΑΤΑ**, Vataprdata, satrape perse. Il

n'est pas douteux que ce satrape ne soit le même que celui que les Grecs nomment Autophradatès et qui sur la monnaie qu'il fit frapper écrit **ΟΑΤΑ** au lieu de **FATA**, ne pouvant se servir du digamma qui n'était plus usité à cette époque. Je crois donc qu'Autophradate a d'abord fait battre des statères dans l'atelier de Tarse, à légende araméenne, avec les oboles au types de la tête de l'hoplite et de la Méduse de son bouclier, puis de la menue monnaie à Posidium, ville située en Cilicie sur les confins de la Syrie,<sup>85</sup> droit en face de Cypre et d'où probablement la flotte transporta les troupes dans l'île. Je n'avancerais pas cette hypothèse si je ne pouvais l'étayer que sur le monogramme, composé des lettres **ΠΟ**, initiales de *Ποσιδείον* ou *Ποσειδείον*, mais une autre monnaie, encore inédite, à types empruntés à Tarse et qu'il ne m'est malheureusement pas permis de décrire, mais qui semble faire part de la même série, porte assez distinctement le nom de Posidium en lettres grecques pour me faire croire que l'attribution à cette ville de la monnaie d'Autophradate ne repose pas sur une simple conjecture. Enfin, l'emploi de lettres grecques aux frontières de la Syrie pourrait surprendre, si Hérodote<sup>86</sup> ne nous apprenait que Posidium avait été fondée par Amphiloque, fils d'Amphiaras et si elle n'avait conservé son nom grec depuis cette

<sup>85</sup> Hérodote, III, 91. ἀπὸ δὲ Ποσειδητίου πόλιος, τὴν Ἀμφίλοχος ὁ Ἀμφιάρεω οἰκισε ἔπ' οὐροισι τοῖσι Κιλικίων τε καὶ Σύρων. Steph. Byz. Ποσειδείον, πόλις μετὰ Κιλικίας καὶ Συρίας. Strabon, XIV, 4, p. 668. Plin., V, 18, Posidium. Roscher, *Lexik. Griech. Mythol.*, v. Amphilochos.

<sup>86</sup> Hérodote, l. c.

époque reculée jusque sous l'empire romain. Au commencement de l'an 386, les longs préparatifs pour la seconde expédition contre Euagoras étant terminés, le gendre d'Artaxerxès II, Orontas, commandant de l'armée et le Caranos Tiribaze, commandant de la flotte, vinrent se mettre à la tête des forces considérables réunies à Phocée et à Cymé, transportèrent les troupes en Cilicie et passèrent de là en Cypre.<sup>87</sup> Les statères frappés à cette époque par Tiribaze à Soli, à Mallos, à Tarsos, à Issos sont bien connus, mais il n'est peut-être pas superflu d'appeler l'attention sur les hectés d'or pâle, frappés par Orontas, quand il séjourna à Phocée,<sup>88</sup> pour se mettre à la tête de l'armée.

Tête d'Orontas, à gauche, à barbe longue et touffue, coiffé de la tiare perse dont les fanons dépendent le long du cou.

*Rev.*—Carré creux divisé en quatre parties.

EL 1½. 2,50. Ma coll. [Pl. XIII, No. 17]; *Zeitschr. f. Numism.* VI (1879), p. 98, 42, T. III, 42 (incorrect).

Ce qui me fait croire qu'Orontas a fait battre ces pièces en 387-6 pendant son séjour à Phocée, c'est que le style de transition, visible à la forme de l'œil et au traitement de la barbe, ne me semble pas permettre de les assigner à une époque postérieure.

<sup>87</sup> Diodore XV, 2 (386). 'Επὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Εὐαγόραν τὸν Κύπρου βασιλέα. Πολλὸν δὲ χρόνον ἀσχοληθεὶς περὶ τὰς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευάς, συνεστήσατο δύναμιν ναυτικὴν καὶ πεζικὴν μεγάλην.—στρατηγὸς δ' ἀπέδειξε τῆς πεζικῆς δυνάμεως Ὀρόντην κηδεστήν, τῆς δὲ ναυτικῆς Τιρίβαζον.—Οὗτοι δὲ παραλαβόντες τὰς δυνάμεις ἐν Φωκαίᾳ καὶ Κύμῃ, κατήνησαν εἰς Κιλικίαν, καὶ περαιωθέντες εἰς Κύπρον, ἐνεργῶς διώκουν τὸν πόλεμον.

<sup>88</sup> L'attribution proposée en 1878 dans la *Zeitschr. f. Num.* VI, p. 98, n'est plus soutenable à présent.

## XXVI.—MYRIANDOS. BAANA.

Seconde moitié du 5<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Quand j'ai placé, il y a dix ans,<sup>89</sup> en tête des monnaies de Tarse, quelques statères au type d'une vache allaitant son veau, je me suis laissé influencer uniquement par le fait que le droit d'un de ces statères, n. 4, est si exactement pareil à celui d'un statère certain de Tarse, n. 11, que ces deux statères paraissent provenir d'un même atelier.<sup>90</sup> Je n'ai pas assez tenu compte alors de la diversité des lettres, phéniciennes sur le n. 4, araméennes sur le n. 11 et du peu de probabilité qu'un dynaste de Tarse ait pu porter le nom hébreu ou phénicien de Baana.

M. Babelon a donc eu parfaitement raison de retirer ces statères de la série de Tarse; mais, quand il les classe à la 5<sup>e</sup> satrapie et les fait figurer à côté des monnaies de Gaza et villes voisines,<sup>91</sup> je ne puis plus suivre son avis. La petite série, au type de la vache allaitant son veau, est Cilicienne de poids, de module, de types et surtout de style et semble sortir de l'atelier de Tarse. Il faut donc la classer à une ville de Cilicie, non loin de Tarse, mais cependant Phénicienne. Une telle ville est connue. C'est Myriandos, dont le nom, formé comme Dalisandos, Silandos, Lepsimandos, fut estropié par les Grecs en Myriandros, et qui, d'après Xénophon et Scylax,<sup>92</sup> était habitée par des Phéniciens.

<sup>89</sup> *Numism. Chronicle*, 1884 (Mazaïos), p. 152, 153, n. 1—4.

<sup>90</sup> Comparez surtout Head, *Coins of Lydia*, Pl. III, 11, avec Babelon, *Pers. achém.*, Pl. VIII, 2.

<sup>91</sup> Babelon, *Perses achémén.*, p. xxv, lv; p. 46, n. 317—319, Pl. VIII, 1, 2.

<sup>92</sup> Xénophon, *Anabase*, I, 4, 6: Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαίνει διὰ Συρίας —εἰς Μυρίανδρον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ.

Du temps d'Hérodote, le royaume de Cilicie s'étendait à l'est jusqu'à l'Euphrate<sup>93</sup> et le long de la côte jusqu'à Posidium ;<sup>94</sup> Myriandos, plus importante alors qu'Issos, donnait son nom au golfe Issique.<sup>95</sup> De même Scylax, vers 347, ne termine la Cilicie qu'à l'Oronte et Strabon nomme Séleucie de Piérie, près de l'Oronte, la première ville de Syrie.<sup>96</sup> Mais, quand Xénophon passe à Myriandos, Issos est la dernière ville de Cilicie et le district oriental du royaume de Syennesis en est détaché et placé sous le satrape de Syrie et d'Assyrie, Bélesys.<sup>97</sup> Puis, quand Mazaios obtient le gouvernement de ce district, après 351, il s'intitule : Le Préposé à la Transeuphratique et à la Cilicie.

Il semble donc que Myriandos et Rhosos ont toujours été considérées comme des villes Ciliciennes, mais qu'elles ont été temporairement annexées à la Syrie, par Artaxerxès II (?), afin d'assurer au Satrape des ports sur la côte et de ne pas entraver ses communications avec la mer.

Depuis cette époque Myriandos cesse de battre monnaie, à ce qu'il paraît. Les statères de Baana datent du 5<sup>e</sup> siècle et sur l'exemplaire du Musée Hunter<sup>98</sup> le roi de Perse, qui lutte contre le lion, me paraît être Darius II,

ἐμπόριον δ' ἦν τὸ χωρίον καὶ ὥρμον αὐτόθι δλκάδες πολλαί. Scylax, 102. Σόλοι πόλις Ἑλληνίς, Ζεφύριον πόλις — πόλις Μαλλός, ἐμπόριον Ἀδάνη καὶ λίμνη Μυριάνδος Φοινίκων, Θάψακος ποταμός.

<sup>93</sup> Hérodote V, 52.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.* III, 91.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.* IV, 38. ἀπὸ τοῦ Μυριανδικοῦ κόλπου τοῦ πρὸς Φοινίκη κειμένον.

<sup>96</sup> Strabon, XIV, p. 676. ὁ κόλπος εἴρηται Ἰσσυκός· ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ πόλις Ῥωσός καὶ Μυριάνδρος πόλις — καὶ Πύλαι λεγόμεναι ὄριον Κιλικίας τε καὶ Σύρων. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Κιλικίαν πρώτη πόλις ἐστὶ τῶν Σύρων Σελεύκεια ἥ ἐν Πιερία, καὶ πλησίον Ὀρόντης ἐκδίδωσιν ποταμός.

<sup>97</sup> Xénophon, *Anabase*, I, 4, 1—6, 10 ; VII, 8, 25.

<sup>98</sup> Head, *Coins of Lydia*, Pl. III, 12.

424—405, reconnaissable à son grand nez aquilin et sa barbe longue et touffue.<sup>99</sup> C'est donc de ce roi que Baana aura été le contemporain.

XXVII.—SIDON. BODOSTOR, ENV. 357—353.

Galère phénicienne avec ses rameurs voguant, à gauche, sur les flots ; au-dessus 9 (ϡ) ; cercle cordiforme.

Rev.—Le roi de Perse, Ochus, debout dans un quadriges<sup>100</sup> au pas à gauche et conduit par un aurige. Le char est suivi par le roi d'Égypte, Tachos, à pied, portant un sceptre terminé par une tête de serpent sur un disque radié et surmonté d'un disque entre deux cornes de vache ; il est coiffé de la couronne blanche. Cercle cordiforme.

R 8. 28 gr. 40—26,62. Head, *Coin. of Lydia a. Persia*, p. 39, Pl. II, 15 ; Babelon, *Perses achém.*, n. 351—358, Pl. IX, 1—3 ; *Mél. num.* I, p. 297, 22, Pl. XII, 8.

Voir pour les divisions de 6 gr. 80 et 0 gr. 90—0,60, Head, *l. c.*, Pl. II, 16, 17 ; Babelon, *Pers. ach.* n. 359—371, Pl. IX, 4—7 ; *Mél. num.*, n. 23, 24, Pl. XII, 9.

Comme l'a reconnu M. Babelon,<sup>101</sup> ces monnaies sont pareilles—quant aux types—à celles des derniers rois de Sidon avant Alexandre, Tennès, Euagoras II, Straton II, et à celles—souvent quelque peu barbares—que le roi de Cilicie, Mazaïos, fit battre, en imitation des monnaies

<sup>99</sup> Babelon, *Perses achémén.*, Pl. II, 1. La mère de Darius II était une babylonienne, ce qui explique le profil sémitique de ce roi.

<sup>100</sup> D'après le nombre des rênes que l'aurige tient en mains ; tous les détails du type sont particulièrement distincts sur l'exemplaire du cabinet de Gotha, le plus beau qui me soit connu.

<sup>101</sup> *Perses achém.*, p. lxxvi.

sidoniennes, dans la Transeuphratique, pendant les 21 ans, 351—331, qu'il en fut satrape.

Aussi M. Babelon n'aurait-il pas proposé, je le pense, de détacher ces pièces de la série sidonienne et à les classer à l'Egypte, si la présence de l'Egyptien, qui suit le char d'Ochus, ne lui eut fait croire qu'elles ont été émises à une époque "où les rois Achéménides furent les tranquilles possesseurs de la vallée du Nil."<sup>102</sup> Et ce serait Bagoas qui les aurait fait battre, non pas après la conquête définitive—il n'était plus en Egypte alors—mais pendant le cours de l'expédition, de 345 à 343!—Car, comme les monnaies frappées à Sidon pendant ces mêmes années par Straton II sont d'un autre style et d'un poids inférieur, il n'est pas possible d'assigner à la même ville, à cette époque du moins, des monnaies si différentes et c'est pourquoi M. Babelon les croit provenir d'un autre atelier qu'il place en Egypte.

Mais, si tel était le cas, je ne crois pas qu'Ochus aurait emprunté les types de la ville revoltée qui venait d'être incendiée par ses habitants pour ne pas tomber en ses mains et qu'il se serait fait figurer, en Egypte même, suivi par le roi Nectanébos, qui avait pris la fuite à son approche et qui continua de régner en Ethiopie en protestant contre l'usurpateur.<sup>103</sup>

Non, ces monnaies sont bien de Sidon, mais elles sont d'une autre époque et le roi d'Egypte n'est pas Nectanébos, mais son prédécesseur Tachos. Ce roi avait pris l'offensive contre les Perses et s'était avancé en Phénicie à la tête d'une armée imposante, 361, mais trahi par les siens et abandonné par Agésilas, il se refugia d'abord à

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. lxxvii, cp. *Mél. num.*, p. 312—315.

<sup>103</sup> Judeich, *Kleinasi. Studien*, p. 178.



Sidon, chez Straton I, puis voyant que cet asile n'était pas assez sûr, il prit le parti de se rendre à la cour de Perse et de se soumettre au grand roi.<sup>104</sup> Il fut bien accueilli par Ochus, qui commandait alors l'armée au nom de son père et demeura chez lui le reste de ses jours.

C'est donc Tachos qui suit le char du roi Ochus et les monnaies, sur lesquelles il est représenté, sont à intercaler entre celles de Straton I et celles de Tennès. Mais d'abord il faut rétablir les dates de ces règnes d'après les recherches de M. Judeich.<sup>105</sup>

La destruction de Sidon et la mort de Tennès sont à placer au commencement de l'an 348. D'après les dates inscrites sur ses monnaies Tennès a régné quatre ans, 352—349.<sup>106</sup> Straton I, mentionné encore en 361, est mort au plus tard en 358. Restent donc au-moins cinq ou six années, 358 ou 357—353 pour le règne du roi, auquel je crois pouvoir classer les monnaies en question et dont le nom commence en ט.

Or, une inscription phénicienne, trouvée à Sidon,<sup>107</sup> nous a fait connaître un roi de Sidon dont le nom com-

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164—168. Wiedeman, *Gesch. Aegyptens*, p. 710. Diodore XV, 92. ὁ μὲν Ταχῶς—ἐτόλμησε διὰ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἀναβῆναι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ συγγνώμην ἡξίου δοῦναι περὶ τῶν ἀμαρτημένων. ὁ δὲ Ἀρταξέρξης οὐ μόνον ἀπέλυσε τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀπέδειξε τοῦ πρὸς Αἰγυπτίους πολέμου. Athénée, IV, 33, p. 150. Αἰγυπτίων ἐπιστρατευσάντων ἐπὶ Ὀχρον—καὶ νικηθέντων, ἐπεὶ ἐγένετο αἰχμάλωτος ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς, ὁ Ὀχος αὐτὸν φιλανθρώπως ἄγων ἐκάλεσε καὶ ἐπὶ δείπνον, κ. τ. λ. Elien, *Var. hist.* V, 1. Τάχως ὁ Αἰγύπτιος—ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς Πέρσας ἀφίκετο καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων τρυφὴν ἐξέπεσε—ὑπὸ δυσεντερίας τὸν βίον κατέστρεψε, κ. τ. λ.

<sup>105</sup> Judeich, *l. c.* p. 174, 175, 209.

<sup>106</sup> Babelon, *Mél. num.* I, p. 292, 293. Restent pour Eua-goras II trois ans, 348—346, pour Straton II. treize ans, 345—333.

<sup>107</sup> *Corp. inscr. Semit.* I, p. 21, n. 4 ; Tab. III, 4.

mence par cette lettre, בדעשתרת, nom que les Grecs rendent par Βοδόστωρ.<sup>108</sup>

On ne voyait autrefois dans בדעשתרת qu'une forme abrégée de עבדעשתרת, Ἀβδαστρατος, mais M. Hoffmann, M. Noeldeke et après eux M. Bloch,<sup>109</sup> sont d'un autre avis et considèrent le mot עבד, *serviteur*, comme entièrement différent de בדר, que M. Bloch traduit par *rejeton*.

Ils insistent surtout sur le fait que les deux mots se retrouvent souvent dans les mêmes inscriptions, l'un dans le nom du fils, l'autre dans celui du père, par exemple בדמלקרת בן עבדמלקרת, Bodmelqart fils de Abdmelqart, tandis, qu'en règle, le fils ne porte pas le même nom que le père.

Rien ne s'oppose donc, que je sache, à admettre qu'Abdastratos (Straton I) ait été succédé par un Bodostor qui, à en juger d'après ce nom, aura été son fils et à attribuer à ce Bodostor les monnaies qui portent un ב comme légende, d'autant plus que les divisions de 0 gr. 90 sont marquées au droit d'un ב et au revers d'un ע, ce qui s'expliquerait si on considérait ces lettres comme les initiales de ב(ד)ע(שתרת) écrit en deux mots.

Il y a encore un argument à faire valoir en faveur de ma thèse.

Sur un des exemplaires du British Museum,<sup>110</sup> frappé sans doute tout à la fin du règne de Straton I, en 359 env., on voit déjà le roi d'Egypte suivant le char du roi de

<sup>108</sup> Diodore, xxiv, 19.

<sup>109</sup> Bloch, *Phoenicisches Glossar*. p. 19.

<sup>110</sup> Head, *Coins of Lydia and Persia*, Pl. II, 5. Le roi d'Egypte est plus distinct sur le moulage de cet exemplaire que j'ai devant moi.

Perse, au revers, et debout à côté de la forteresse et de la galère amarrée, sur le droit de la pièce.

Le beau style des monnaies de Bodostor, bien supérieures à celles de Tennès, est en harmonie avec la date proposée et avec le style des monnaies de Straton I, qui, du reste, ont le même poids quand les exemplaires sont dans un même état de conservation. Le tableau suivant permettra d'en juger.

<i>Roi anonyme.</i>		28 gr. 01 (surfrappé par Straton) — 27,10; 7 gr. 07
<i>Straton I</i>	374 <sup>P111</sup> —358.	28,19 (coll. de Hirsch)—26,85; 7,04
<i>Bodostor</i>	357—353.	28,40; 28,16 (Gotha) — 26,62; 6,87
<i>Tennès</i>	352—349.	25,87—25,50
<i>Euagoras II</i>	348—346.	25,92—25,60
<i>Straton II</i>	345—333.	25,85—25,70 . . . 6,35; 3,20
<i>Mazaïos</i>	351—331.	26,00—25,60

C'est avec regret que j'ai combattu l'hypothèse ingénieuse de M. Babelon qui m'avait séduit à première vue,<sup>112</sup> mais, plus je l'étudie, moins elle ne me semble admissible.

J. P. SIX.

AMSTERDAM.

<sup>111</sup> La date de l'avènement de Straton est inconnue.

<sup>112</sup> Judeich, *l. c.*, p. 176, 1.

## NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

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*Topografia e Numismatica dell' antica Imera (e di Terme).* By Dr. E. Gabrici. Naples, 1894.

In this scholarly monograph the author gives us an excellent and thoroughly trustworthy sketch of all that is positively known of the history of Himera, from its foundation *circ.* B.C. 648 by Chalcidians from Zancle down to its destruction by the Carthaginians in B.C. 409, as well as of Thermae, the city which the conquerors founded, a few years after the destruction of Himera, in the neighbourhood of the ancient town. The author divides the numismatic history of these towns into the following five periods:—(i) From the second half of the seventh century (called by him inadvertently the sixth) down to B.C. 489, when Himera became subject to Theron of Agrigentum: (ii) B.C. 489—472, period of Agrigentine rule: (iii) B.C. 472—409, period of renewed prosperity under free democratic institutions ending in the Carthaginian conquest: (iv) Foundation of Thermae B.C. 407 and Carthaginian domination there until B.C. 252: (v) Period of Roman dominion B.C. 252 down to the time of Tiberius, when the coinage ceases altogether. Into the first period fall the coins of Aeginetic weight with a cock on the obverse and an incuse square, at first divided into triangular compartments and later containing a hen, on the reverse. Some of these coins are inscribed **HI**, or **HIME** with the occasional addition of the much discussed legends **IATON** and **VV**, **TV**, **√V**, **√**, &c.

The coinage of the second period is distinguished by the Agrigentine crab which now occupies the reverse. The Aeginetic standard is also now abandoned in favour of the Attic.

With the third period begins one of the most beautiful and interesting series of tetradrachms in all Sicily. The obverse type represents the Nymph Himera usually sacrificing before

the hot springs, typified by a naked Silenus standing under a jet of water issuing from a fountain in the form of a lion's head. On the reverse is a victorious quadriga, whose charioteer on the oldest specimens is accompanied by his name ΠΕΛΟΥ in allusion to the Olympian games. A well-known example of this type, hitherto accepted as true by Imhoof Blumer and others (*Mon. Gr.*, "Himera," No. 32), is, we are inclined to think on insufficient grounds, condemned as false by Dr. Gabrici.

The epithet ΣΟΤΗΡ sometimes placed in the field of the didrachm behind the nymph, refers, the author thinks, neither to the nymph herself, as Kinch suggested, nor to Asklepios, as Seltman thinks, but to Herakles, who, at Himera, seems to have been worshipped as a healing god in connection with the hot springs. In support of this opinion it may be noted that on the coins of Thermae of the fourth period, B.C. 407 to 272, Herakles is frequently represented, while Asklepios, on the other hand, is not once met with.

This interesting treatise well deserves a very careful study. Students of the series may possibly differ from the author with regard to the exact sequence of some of the tetradrachms in his third period, but this is a matter of very slight importance. In its main outlines M. Gabrici's classification is absolutely trustworthy.

BARCLAY V. HEAD.

The *Revue Numismatique*, Part II. and III., 1894, contains the following articles:—

1. E. BABELON. *On the primitive coinage of Samos.* A thorough study of all that has been previously written on the subject, *à propos* of the recent find of early electrum coins in the island of Samos. As these coins are without inscriptions, and for the most part without distinguishable types, it seems somewhat hazardous to assume, as M. Babelon does, that they are all of Samian origin. Their Euboic weight, and the fact of their having been found in Samos, are, however, strong points in favour of M. Babelon's hypothesis, and if M. Babelon could only convince us that the rude designs on the staters, &c., figured on Pl. III., are primitive attempts to represent the lion's scalp, I should not hesitate to accept his conclusions; more especially as they coincide with theories tentatively advanced by me in my article on "Ancient Electrum Coins,"

*Num. Chron.*, 1875, pp. 272, 273. With regard to the emblems, the conger-eel, the heron, and the archaic statue, which the author sees in the incuse reverses of Nos. 1 and 2 of Pl. III., I am still more sceptical than I am as to the devices on the obverses. I do not for a moment deny the curious resemblance of these devices to an eel and a heron, but I believe that the similitude, striking as it seems to be, is merely the result of chance; for, in the first place, eels and herons are not creatures which one would expect to find as coin-types, and, in the second place, an engraver capable of designing a heron in so realistic a style would surely have given us a more recognisable lion's scalp as the principal type of his obverses.

2. W. M. RAMSAY. *Colonia Niniva or Ninica?* The coins hitherto attributed by all Numismatists to Niniva in Assyria, inscribed in the Latin language COLONIA IVL. AVG. FEL. NIN. CLAUDIOPOLIS, variously abbreviated, have always been an unsolved puzzle to students of history, owing to the fact that the existence of a Roman colony in that region seemed inadmissible. The acquisition by Prof. Ramsay of some of these coins in Cilicia drew the attention of the late M. Waddington to this question, and he was preparing an article on the subject shortly before his death. This article, unfortunately, he was unable to complete; but from the general drift of what he said to me in conversation, I have no doubt that his views harmonized with those of Prof. Ramsay, with whom he was in correspondence at the time. The writer of the present article proves most satisfactorily that all the coins with Latin inscriptions must be transferred from Niniva to a Roman colony in Cilicia called *Ninica Claudiopolis*, the site of which he would look for in the region of Lalassis, somewhere between Antiocheia and Germanicopolis, either on the southern coast of Cilicia, or between the coast and the southern branch of the river Calycadnus. These coins with Latin legends are to be distinguished from that which bears the Greek inscription ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, which was acquired by Prof. Ramsay in 1890, near Laranda. This coin belongs to another town in Cilicia Tracheia (not a Roman colony) founded also by Antiochus IV, of Commagene, and also named Claudiopolis. The site of this town was definitely fixed by Mr. Ramsay at the modern village of Mut, in the year 1890.

3. E. DROUIN. *On the coins of two new Kings of Sogdiana.* These coins are small silver pieces, weighing about 30 grains, having on the obverse the head of a king accompanied by Aramaic inscriptions read by M. Drouin, בּוּדָטוּ (Bagudatu = created by God) (cf. the name בַּגְדַּת Bagdat), and Ὀπβαριϛ, the latter being perhaps analogous to the Scythic name, Spali-

rizes. On palæographic grounds the writer thinks that these kings may have reigned about B.C. 300.

4. E. LE BLANT. On the inscriptions on the setting of the Cameo called "Le Jupiter du Trésor de Chartres." This famous antique cameo was presented by King Charles V to the Cathedral of Chartres. The inscriptions in enamelled letters on the front and back of the gold setting, "*Jesus autem transiens,*" &c., and "*In principio erat verbum,*" &c., are two of the most frequent among the numerous Cabalistic formulæ, which, in the Middle Ages, it was customary to engrave on talismans as sovran preservatives against all sorts of misfortunes.

5. G. SCHLUMBERGER. On Byzantine gold bullæ preserved in the archives of the Vatican. The writer describes five hitherto unpublished specimens of these extremely rare seals. They bear the names and effigies of Michael IX, Andronicus II, John V, and John VIII, (Palæologi).

6. P. CASANOVA. Unpublished Dinars of Yemen.

7. J. A. BLANCHET. On a denier of Charles VIII, struck at Marseilles.

8. E. BEURLIER. The Koinon of Syria and the Syriarchs Artabanes and Herod. The outcome of the author's researches is that Artabanes was Syriarch in A.D. 181, and Herodes in A.D. 304.

9. J. A. BLANCHET. On an unpublished coin of Nicaea of the *ἱππος βροτόπους* type.

10. P. CASANOVA. The coins of the dynasty of Danishmend. I. Unpublished or misdescribed coins of Yâghi Bazan, Ismail, Mohammad, Kâsim, and Malek Mohammad Nâsir ed-din (Dhul Nun I). (To be continued.)

11. CTE. DE CASTELLANE. On the mint-mark of the town of Fouras on coins of Charles VII, regent and afterwards king, 1418—1430. The writer points out that the écus d'or, with an annulet beneath the ninth letter of the inscriptions both on *obv.* and *rev.*, and with the Gothic letter *f* at the end of the two legends, belong to the mint of Fouras, near La Rochelle, and not to Fontenay or to Figeac.

12. H. DE LA TOUR. Jean de Candida, Counsellor and Ambassador of King Charles VIII, and Medalist.

The writer points out and emphasises the influence, both political and artistic, which the Neapolitans exercised upon France in the fifteenth century, and shows how this was in a large measure due to the diffusion through France of cast medals by Italian artists.

B. V. H.

*On the ancient coins of the Islands of Malta, Gozo, and Pantelleria (Melita, Gaulos, and Cossura).* By Albert Mayr. Munich, 1894. (Gymnasiums-Programm.)

This treatise deserves the highest praise. The writer has evidently made a most careful study of the difficult series of coins with Phœnician inscriptions concerning the attribution of which Semitic scholars have been at variance. He adduces weighty arguments for transferring to Melita the coins with the unexplained legend  $\text{אִנְנָ}$  which are generally ascribed to Gaulos. Again, on the coins of Cossura, the author prefers, with Kopp, Hamaker, and De Sauley, the reading of the Phœnician legend as  $\text{אִרְנָם}$  to that of  $\text{אִרְנָם}$  proposed by Gesenius, and adopted by Movers, Schröder, Levy, and by myself in *Hist. Num.* (p. 743). The former word would seem to mean "*Insula Victoriae*," while the latter has been translated "*Insula jiliorum*" (sc. Sadyci). The differences in the forms of the letters *b*, *d*, and *r*, in the Punic scripts are so slight as to render it often quite impossible to decide between them without a knowledge of what was intended by the engraver. In any case, the inscription is doubtless the Phœnician name of the place of mintage or of the island.

This monograph is accompanied by two autotype plates of the coins.

B. V. H.

*Coins of Mediæval India.* By Major-Gen. Sir A. Cunningham, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., R.E.

This, the last work, alas, of the chief of Indian Numismatists, is the promised companion volume to the *Coins of Ancient India*, which appeared in 1891. These two books contain a complete and concise account of all that is known about the purely Indian coinages, from the earliest times down to the Muhammadan conquests. The coinages of the numerous prae-Muhammadan invaders of India have, in like manner, received the same satisfactory treatment in the long series of articles from the same pen which has appeared from time to time in the *Numismatic Chronicle*—a series which, beginning with "The Successors of Alexander," many years ago, only ended in our last number with "The White Huns." We are now, thanks to Sir A. Cunningham, for the first time in possession of a real history of Indian numismatics, and the result may be regarded as a triumph for both numismatics and palæography; but the task of writing this history could probably only have been successfully attempted by one who, like him, united with numismatic and palæographic skill a marvellously accurate and minute acquaintance with the ancient and modern geography of India.

E. J. RAPSON.



## MISCELLANEA.

UNPUBLISHED GOLD COINS OF JAMES I.—In 1887 (*Num. Chron.*, 3rd S., VII.—342), and in 1889 (*Num. Chron.*, 3rd S., IX.—365), I gave lists of no less than 40 gold coins of James I, bearing mint-marks not recorded in connection with their denomination in Kenyon's *Gold Coins of England*.

I can now report the addition of six more of such unpublished varieties to our lists (making, therefore, 46 in all, to the present date), viz.:—

- (i) Rose Ryal, m.m. key. (W. Peace's sale. Sotheby's, June, 1894);
- (ii) Half-Unite or Double Crown, m.m. open rose. Transition type with ornamented armour. (In my own collection);
- (iii) Angel, m.m. cross. (In Dowager Duchess of Beaufort's sale);
- (iv) Angel, m.m. bell. (In my own collection);
- (v) Quarter laurel, m.m. spur rowel. (In Mr. Henry Webb's sale. Sotheby's, July, 1894);

and

- (vi) Thistle Crown, m.m. plain cross. (From the same sale. In my own collection.)

Of the above the two angels are two of the pieces which in my first note I stated should, in my opinion, be in existence, though up to that time they had not occurred.

H. MONTAGU.

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END OF VOL. XIV.

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

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SESSION 1893—1894.

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OCTOBER 19, 1893.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D., Treas.R.S.,  
V.P.S.A., F.G.S., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the  
table :—

1. Catalogue of Chinese Coins from the seventh century  
B.C. to A.D. 621, in the British Museum, by T. de La Cou-  
perie. From the Trustees of the British Museum.

2. *Archæologia Æliana*. Vol. xvi. Part I. From the  
Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

3. Administration Report of the Government Central  
Museum, Madras, 1892—3.

4. Note on the History of the East India Company's Coinage,  
from 1752—1835. By E. Thurston. From the Author.

5. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London.  
Vol. xiv. No. 3. From the Society.

6. An Account of the Coins, &c., of Australasia. By C. P.  
Hynan. From A. P. Triggs, Esq.

7. Journal of the Institute of Bankers. Vol. xiv. Part  
VII. From the Institute.

8. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Vol. xxvi, 1892. From the Society.

9. Copper Coins of England. By H. Montagu. Second edition, 1893. From the Author.

10. The Coinage of the European Continent. By W. C. Hazlitt. From the Author.

11. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, 1893. Part 1. From the Society.

12. Revue Belge de Numismatique, 1893. Parts III and IV. From the Belgian Numismatic Society.

13. Annuaire de la Société Française de Numismatique, 1893. Parts I—III. From the French Numismatic Society.

14. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie. Part CLXIV. From the Society.

15. Bulletin de Numismatique. May—September, 1893. From the Editor, M. R. Serrure.

16. Une Médaille Commémorative de la fondation et de l'achèvement de la Ville de Sultaniye. By Prince Philip of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha. From the Author.

17. Curiosités orientales de mon Cabinet numismatique. No. 2. From the same.

18. Revue Suisse de Numismatique. Vols. i and ii, 1891—1892, and Vol. iii, Parts II—IV. From the Society.

19. Académie Royale de Belgique, Bulletins. Nos. 22—25, and Annuaire, 1892—1893. From the Academy.

20. Rivista Italiana di Numismatica, 1893. Part II. From the Editor.

21. Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Vol. xix, Parts I—II. From the Editor.

22. Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, 1893. Parts XXI—XLII. From the Publishers.

23. Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthums-freunden im Rheinlande. Part XCIV. From the Society.

24. Sitzungsberichte der K. preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1893. Parts XXVI—XXXVIII. From the Academy.

25. Atlas der Nederlandsche of op Nederland en Nederlanders betrekking habbende Penningen. Part III. By J. Dirks. From the Teyler Institute.

Mr. Montagu exhibited a gold crown and half-crown of Edward VI, bearing the mint-mark Y., of Sir J. Yorke's mint at Southwark; also a large silver coin of Hieronymus of Syracuse, *rev.* Fulmen; together with a skilfully executed modern cast from the same specimen.

Mr. Lawrence exhibited six base half-sterlings of Edward II or III, five of which were from the same dies, and bore the name of the London mint.

Dr. F. P. Weber exhibited some casts of coins of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, as King of the Romans, A.D. 1257—1271, issued at Aix-la-Chapelle and Dortmund. The originals are in the Royal Collection at Berlin.

Sir H. Howorth read a paper on the earliest gold coins (*trientes*) assigned to the Anglo-Saxons. See *N.C.* xiii, p. 259. The writer expressed a strong opinion that these gold pieces belong to the pre-Saxon period following the Roman evacuation of Britain, and in point of fact that they were not struck by the English, but by the Romano-British bishops of London, Winchester, &c.

Sir H. Howorth's views in regard to the early date of these coins were combated by Mr. Montagu and Mr. Grueber.

Sir J. Evans read a paper on a penny of King Athelstan, having on the reverse the name of a new mint, "Weardbyrig," which he was inclined to identify with Wardborough or Warborough, in Oxfordshire. It is printed in *N.C.* xiii, p. 220.

Dr. F. P. Weber read extracts from a paper on metallic plaques and medals, relating to England, but by foreign artists, and exhibited specimens, some of which showed considerable skill, though only a few of them were satisfactory as portrait medals. See *N.C.* xiii, p. 286, and xiv, p. 101.

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NOVEMBER 16, 1893.

H. MONTAGU, Esq., F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

R. English, Esq., R. Henrichsen, Esq., H. M. Lund, Esq., O. Raphael, Esq., R. F. M. Sims, Esq., and Major R. R. Sturt, were elected Members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. ii. Nos. 4—5. From the Academy.

2. Proceedings of the American Numismatic and Archæological Society of New York, 1888—1892. From the Society.

3. The Law of Treasure Trove. By Sir John Evans. From the Author.

4. Annuaire de la Société Française de Numismatique. Sept.—Oct. 1893. From the Society.

5. Rivista Italiana di Numismatica, 1893. Part III. From the Editor.

6. Kongl. Vitterhets Historie och Antiquitets Akademiens Månadsblad, 1892. From the Swedish Academy.

7. Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, Nos. 43—46. From the Publisher.

8. Münzgeschichte Pommerns im Mittelalter. By H. Dannenberg. From the Author.

9. Νομισματικά Σύμβολα τῆς ἀρχαίας Κρήτης. By J. N. Svoronos. From the Author.

Dr. B. V. Head exhibited a Parthian tetradrachm from the same dies as the specimen described in the *Num. Chron.* Proceedings, December 19th, 1889. The weight of the present specimen, 273 grains, was, in Dr. Head's opinion, sufficient evidence that these two coins were struck from forged dies.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence exhibited two pennies of Offa, slightly differing from any published specimens.

Mr. A. E. Packe exhibited a specimen of the ryal of Henry VII, and Mr. Montagu a selection of gold sovereigns from Henry VII to James I, and an unpublished half-penny of Henry VII, struck by Cardinal Morton, with his initial, M, on the reverse.

Mr. R. A. Hoblyn exhibited a Theatre Royal (Drury Lane) pit ticket, dated 1671, the obverse of which is from the same die as that of the first half-penny of Charles II (August, 1672) and of the QVATVOR MARIA undated pattern halfpenny, the date of which is thus approximately fixed to the early part of 1672.

Lord Grantley read a paper on a styca of Alchred, King of Northumbria, and Archbishop Egbert of York. See *N. C.*, xiii, p. 267.

Mr. J. L. Myres read a paper on some local bronze coins of Crete, collected by him from villagers in the two westernmost provinces of the island, principally from the sites of the ancient towns Polyrhenion and Elyros. It is printed in *N. C.*, xiv, p. 89.

DECEMBER 21, 1893.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. The Forgery of Antiquities. By Sir John Evans. From the Author.

2. Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum. Anglo-Saxon Series. Vol. ii. By H. A. Grueber and C. F. Keary. From the Trustees of the British Museum.

3. Journal of the Institute of Bankers. Vol. xiv, Part IX. From the Institute.

4. Collections scientifiques de l'Institut des langues orientales

de St. Petersburg; Catalogue des monnaies Arsacides, Sub-Arsacides, Sassanides, &c. By Alexis de Markoff, 1889. From the Institute.

5. Note sur quelques Talismans de Bataille. By E. Le Blant. From the Author.

6. Bulletin de Numismatique. Nov. 1893. From the Editor, M. R. Serrure.

7. Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift. Nos. 47—51, 1893. From the Publisher.

8. Atlas Behoorende by de Beschrijving der Nederlandsche Penningen. Part IV. From the Teyler Institute.

Mr. H. Montagu exhibited a fine series of Roman half aurei ranging from Augustus to Galerius, and comprising some unique and extremely rare specimens.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence showed a light penny of Henry VI, apparently struck from a die of Edward IV.

The Rev. G. F. Crowther exhibited a groat of Henry VIII's second coinage, mint-mark "Sun and cloud," and a groat of his fifth coinage, mint-mark "Bow," inscribed REDDE CVIQ' Q' SVVM EST.

Mr. R. A. Hoblyn exhibited a copper halfpenny of Elizabeth, rev. shield with royal arms, inscribed A. HALF-PENY. PECE. This unique specimen is the earliest copper coin struck for England. See *N. C.*, xiv, p. 84. Mr. Hoblyn also exhibited the medal of the Photographic Society of Japan, designed at the Imperial School of Art in that country.

Mr. A. J. Evans read a series of communications entitled *Contributions to Sicilian Numismatics*: (1) "On the Recent Discovery of a Dâmareteion from a New Die." A fresh example of this historic piece having been found at Lentini, in Sicily, enabled Mr. Evans to establish the existence of four different dies. This seemed to exclude the hypothesis that this early "medallion" of Syracuse was solely coined out of the proceeds of the gold wreath presented to Dâmareta by the Carthaginians. (2) "New Lights on the Monetary Frauds

of Dionysius." Mr. Evans described a tinned bronze coin of the decadrachm type from a die that seems to have been specially engraved by the monetary artist Evænetus, and identified it with the "tin" coinage of Dionysius described by Aristotle. (3) "Effect of Dionysius's Finance on the Silver Systems of Etruria and Rome." The *nummus* was shown to have been originally the *nummus denarius*, the early Italic form of which, as seen in Etruria = a didrachm—the silver value of ten pounds of bronze. So, too, at Tarentum, and originally in Sicily, the *νόμος* or *νοῦμμος* was a didrachm, representing ten litras. But the Dionysian reduction of the Sicilian talent to one-half, and the consequent creation of a drachm of ten litras of account, made this the *noummos*. In conformity with this the Italic *nummus denarius* was reduced from the silver value of ten *libræ* to ten *libellæ* = ten Sicilian litras of account as created by the Dionysian reduction. (4) "The Omen of the Crimismus on Coins of Herbessus and Morgantina." Alliance coins of these cities struck in Timoleon's time, and exhibiting an eagle and serpent, were brought into connection with the omen of the same kind seen by Timoleon's soothsayers. (5) "The African Gold Stater of Agathocles." Mr. Evans showed that this coin was struck in B.C. 308 on Ptolemaic models at the time when Agathocles, having murdered Ptolemy's officer Ophellas, assumed command of his Cyrenæan contingent, and seems to have posed as a Diadochus. These papers are printed in the *N. C.* xiv. p. 186.

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JANUARY 18, 1894.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., President, in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were elected Members of the Society:—Hugh Goodacre, Esq., Monsieur P. Ch. Stroehlin, and John Ward, Esq., F.S.A.

The following presents were announced and laid on the table :—

1. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. iii, No. 1, and Transactions of the same, Vol. xxx, Parts VI—X. From the Academy.

2. Mémoires de la Société royale des Antiquaires du Nord, 1892, and Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie. Vol. viii, Part III, 1893. From the Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen.

3. Bulletin Historique de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie. Part CLXVII. From the Society.

4. Revue Belge de Numismatique, 1894. Part I. From the Numismatic Society.

5. Archæologia Cantiana. Vol. xx. From the Kent Archæological Society.

6. Rivista Italiana di Numismatica, 1893. Part VI. From the Editor.

7. Annuaire de Numismatique. November—December, 1893. From the French Numismatic Society.

8. Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. xiii, Part II, and Supplementary Papers, No. 2. From the Hellenic Society.

9. Journal of the Institute of Bankers. Vol. xv, Part I. From the Institute.

10. Kalyāna Manjushā. By Bodhanumdāmatu Swani. From the Author.

11. Bronze Medal of Generals Popham and Beresford. From Don Alessandro Rosa.

The President exhibited a specimen, thickly gilt, of the magnificent French medal cast at Lyons in honour of Louis XII and his wife Anne de Bretagne. Though no examples in gold of the original issue of this medal are preserved, the present specimen is an early and finely executed cast in copper. Its only defect is that a small portion of it has been broken off, which, however, has been replaced by a reproduction of the corresponding part from the specimen in the British Museum.

Dr. F. P. Weber exhibited some small agates, cut so as to show the eye or eyes upon them, and commonly known as Indian "eye stones." These Dr. Weber was inclined to identify with the stones which are referred to by Nicolo Conti in his account of *Travel in India*, in the fifteenth century, as "cats' eyes," and which he says were used as money in some parts of India. The stones now known as "cats' eyes" are quite different. If the so-called "eye stones" are in reality identical with the stones mentioned by Conti, they are next to "cowries," the commonest specimens now extant of an old non-metallic currency.

Mr. Hoblyn exhibited a penny of Edward the Confessor, struck at Hastings by the moneyer Theodred; also a testoon and a shilling of Edward VI., countermarked with the port-cullis.

Mr. Prevost exhibited specimens of Swiss *jetons d'escompte* representing values of 5, 10, 20, and 30 centimes.

Sir J. Evans read a paper on a small hoard of Anglo-Saxon sceattas, found near Cambridge, both inscribed and uninscribed, which in his opinion might probably be attributed for the most part to the earlier half of the eighth century, a much later date than that which has hitherto been usually assigned to them. See *N. C.* xiv. p. 18.

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FEBRUARY 15, 1894.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Journal of the Institute of Bankers. Vol. xv, Part II. From the Institute.

2. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 1893. Part IV. From the Society.

3. *Études sur les Monnaies Féodales du Poitou.* By C. Farcinet. From the Author.

4. *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie.* Part IV, 1893. From the Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen.

5. *Chapters on Greek Dress.* By Lady Evans. From the Author.

Prof. J. H. Middleton exhibited a contemporary forgery in silver (once gilt) of a noble of Edward III, found at Cheltenham.

Mr. W. C. Boyd exhibited an ancient forgery of a Roman denarius of Antoninus Pius, reverse Minerva, and blundered inscription.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence exhibited a forgery of a half-crown of Charles I, struck on a plated "flan"; also Oxford and Aberystwith threepences of the same reign.

Mr. Durlacher exhibited a silver porter's badge, bearing the name of "John Moseley, Fellowship Porter, Aug. 7th, 1777," and the arms of the City of London.

Mr. H. Montagu read a paper "On the Coinage of Edward V," in which he discussed very fully the origin of the mint-marks, the rose and sun dimidiated, and the boar's head, which were used by that king and by his uncle Richard III.

The writer attributed to Edward V all the coins bearing the name of Edward in conjunction with either or both of these mint-marks. To his description of ten coins of Edward V Mr. Montagu added that of an angel in his own collection, which, though bearing the name of Edward on the obverse, has on the reverse an R in place of an E at the side of the mast of the ship. Mr. Montagu believed this coin to have been struck from an altered die of Edward V, and to have been issued immediately after the accession of Richard III.

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MARCH 15, 1894.

ALFRED E. COPP, Esq., Treasurer, in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were elected Members of the Society:—P. W. Poole Britton, Esq., F.S.A., W. de Bracy Herbert, Esq., A. B. Triggs, Esq., and Samuel Spink, Esq.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. American Colonial History. Illustrated by contemporary Medals, by C. W. Betts. From the Publisher.

2. *Revue Suisse de Numismatique*, 1893. Parts V and VI. From the Swiss Numismatic Society.

3. *Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique*. Jan.—Feb., 1894. From the French Numismatic Society.

4. *Foreningen til Aarsberetning Norske Fortidsmindesmerkere Bevaring*, 1892. Proceedings. From the Norwegian Society of Antiquaries, Christiania.

5. *Nonneseter Kloster Ruiner*. By B. E. Bendixen. From the Author.

Lord Grantley exhibited a copper denarius of Fausta, wife of Constantine the Great, struck in London, also several base denarii of the Emperor Probus, from the Reichenstein "find." The latter were in very fine condition, and still preserved their original coating of silver.

Mr. Prevost exhibited a medal of the London and Birmingham Railway, struck on its completion in 1838, and another commemorating the opening, in 1835, of the first railway in France, that between Paris and St. Germain.

Mr. A. E. Packe read a paper "On the Coinage as affected by the Administration of Henry II," in which he gave extracts from the "*Dialogus de Scaccario*" respecting the suppression of the currency of foreign coins in England and the provisions for a coinage of uniform type, early in that reign. After describing the state of the coinage at the beginning of the reign of



Henry II, the author proceeded to discuss the status of the moneyers of that time and the regulations respecting their appointment.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence read a paper on a rare penny of Stephen and its relation to the so-called "Henry of Northumberland sterlings." From the evidence afforded by this coin of Stephen, which is of the same type as those usually assigned to Henry of Northumberland, Mr. Lawrence questioned the correctness of the attribution of the latter pieces, and proposed to ascribe them instead to Henry, Count of Anjou and Duke of Normandy, afterwards Henry II of England.

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APRIL 19, 1894.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., President, in the Chair.

Mr. H. Montagu exhibited three aurei of L. Verus of different types (Cohen, 158, 248, and 247 varied) and in very fine preservation, from a hoard recently discovered at Rome, on the Aventine Hill, which probably consisted of from 200 to 300 specimens; also a tetradrachm of Agathocles of Syracuse, with the head of Korê of exceptional beauty on the obverse.

Lord Grantley exhibited a noble of Henry VI of Flemish work.

Sir J. Evans exhibited a fifty-real piece of Philip IV of Spain, with the aqueduct of Segovia as a mint-mark. From the unevenness of the surface of the "flans" of all these large Spanish coins Sir J. Evans inferred that they could not have been struck from dies, but that the discs of metal received their impressions by being passed between two rollers worked by water power, the process by which Briot's York crowns, &c., were produced.

Mr. A. E. Packe exhibited a box of Flemish money changers' weights dated 1641, containing, among the rest, a weight for

a "half rose-noble," thus proving that these coins continued to be current on the Continent long after they had ceased to be so in England.

Mr. A. E. Copp exhibited some gold coins found recently in Normandy, among which were florins of Johanna, Queen of Sicily and Countess of Provence, 1343—82; of Louis, Duke of Anjou, son of John (the Good) of France, struck for Calabria c. A.D. 1380; and of Charles V of France, 1364—1380; also ducats of Gabriel Adorno, Doge of Genoa, 1363—70; of William I, Duke of Gueldres, 1377—93; and of Cuno of Falkenstein, Archbishop of Trèves, 1362—1388.

Mr. H. A. Grueber read a paper on some Anglo-Saxon coins of the first half of the ninth century, recently acquired by the British Museum, through the liberality of Sir A. Wollaston Franks. Among the specimens described by Mr. Grueber were several unpublished and many very rare types of the kings of Mercia, Kent, East Anglia, and Wessex, and of some of the archbishops of Canterbury. This paper will be found in *N. C.* xiv, p. 29.

MAY 17, 1894.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. *Annuaire de la Société Française de Numismatique.* March—April, 1894. From the French Numismatic Society.

2. *Coins, &c., of Australasia.* By C. P. Hynan. From the Author.

3. *Die deutschen Münzen der sachsichen und frankischen Kaiserzeit.* Vol. ii. By H. Dannenberg. From the Author.

4. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.* Vol. xxvii. From the Society.

Mr. H. Montagu exhibited an aureus in fine condition of Julia Titi, with the figure of a peacock on the reverse, and two others bearing the portraits of Julia and her father Titus. One specimen of the last two is unpublished in gold.

A discussion took place on the paper on Anglo-Saxon coins which had been read by Mr. H. A. Grueber at the previous meeting of the Society.

Mr. Montagu drew attention to the discovery of four coins of Wiglaf, King of Mercia, which he thought proved that the coinage of that king extended over a longer period than has been generally supposed. He also pointed out the fact that some of the coins of Ecgbeorht not only bear the names of moneyers of Baldred of Kent, but that Ecgbeorht borrowed some of the types of that king for his own coinage.

Sir J. Evans remarked that he could not agree with Mr. Grueber in his attribution of certain coins of Coenwulf, Ceolwulf I., and Beornwulf of Mercia, to Rochester, on account of their having a cross or crosses on the reverses in the form of that of St. Andrew. He also took exception to the solution of the inscription on the reverse of a coin of Beornwulf, which Mr. Grueber had interpreted as "Tidbearht Monetarius Urbis Cantuariorum," but of which the initial only of each word was given.

Col. L. Ellis communicated a paper on the currency of the Straits Settlements, in which he gave an historical account of that coinage. He divided the coins into five classes, viz. (1) those struck by the East India Company and bearing the Company's arms; (2) those bearing the bantam cock on the obverse; (3) those with the names of the States of the Malay Peninsula; (4) those with the name of Sumatra and the Sumatra States; and lastly, miscellaneous pieces issued by the traders. The whole coinage extended over a period of about thirty years only, viz., from 1804 to 1834.

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JUNE 21, 1894.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D., Treas.R.S.,  
V.P.S.A., F.G.S., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Report of the Council was then read to the meeting as follows:—

GENTLEMEN,—The Council again have the honour to lay before you their Annual Report as to the state of the Numismatic Society.

With great regret they have to announce the loss by death of the following seven Ordinary Members:—

Major-General Sir Alexander Cunningham, K.C.I.E.  
George Eades, Esq.  
Thomas Jones, Esq.  
The Rev. Charles Soames.  
Monsieur W. H. Waddington.  
Henry Webb, Esq.  
John Wilkinson, Esq., F.S.A.

Also, by default, of three Ordinary Members whose names have been erased from our list.

On the other hand the Council have much pleasure in recording the election of the following thirteen Ordinary Members:—

P. W. Poole Britton, Esq., F.S.A.	Oscar C. Raphael, Esq.
R. English, Esq.	R. F. M. Sims, Esq.
Hugh Goodacre, Esq.	Samuel Spink, Esq.
Rudolph Henrichsen, Esq.	Monsieur P. C. Stroehlin.
W. de Bracy Herbert, Esq.	Major R. R. Sturt.
H. M. Lund, Esq.	A. B. Triggs, Esq.
	John Ward, Esq., J.P., F.S.A.

According to the Report of the Hon. Secretaries the numbers of the Members are as follows :—

	Ordinary.	Honorary.	Total
June, 1893 . . . . .	272	21	293
Since elected . . . . .	13	—	13
	285	21	306
Deceased . . . . .	7	—	7
Resigned . . . . .	—	—	—
Erased . . . . .	3	—	3
June, 1894 . . . . .	275	21	296

The Council have further to announce that they have unanimously awarded the Medal of the Society to Charles Francis Keary, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., in recognition of his services to Numismatic Science, especially in the Department of Early English and Mediæval Coins.

The Treasurer's Report — which shows a balance of £260 7s. 1d. as compared with £307 6s. 11d. of last year—is as follows :—

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements of the Numismatic Society, from June, 1893, to June, 1894.

Dr. THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF LONDON IN ACCOUNT WITH ALFRED EVELYN COPP, TREASURER. Cr.

To	Messrs. Virtue & Co., for printing Chronicle, Part I. of 1893	£	s.	d.	By Balance from last Statement.	£	s.	d.
"	ditto ditto Part II. "	34	4	9	" Composition . . . . .	307	6	11
"	ditto ditto Part III. "	30	5	2	" Entrance Fees . . . . .	15	15	0
"	ditto ditto Part IV. "	37	5	3	" Annual Subscriptions . . . . .	13	13	0
"	The Autotype Company . . . . .	60	13	0	" Mr. B. Quaritch, for "Chronicles" . . . . .	243	12	0
"	Snell and Swaffield for purchase of £100 Consols at 97 7/8	50	6	10	" O. Codrington, Esq., for Royal Asiatic Society's Journals	48	6	9
"	The Royal Asiatic Society, one year's rent due June, 1894	98	0	0	" Mr. J. Pinches, for "Chronicles" . . . . .	6	16	0
"	Mr. T. Sulman, for Engraving Syracusan Coins	30	0	0	" Colonel J. Tobin Bush, for Foreign Postages . . . . .	0	10	6
"	Mrs. E. Harper, for Attendance	12	19	0	" Half year's Dividend on £700 £2 3/4 per cent.	0	2	0
"	Ditto for Tea, Coffee, &c. . . . .	6	6	0	" Consols, due 5th October, 1893 (less Tax)	9	7	0
"	Messrs. J. Davy & Sons, for Printing . . . . .	5	1	8	" ditto on £800 ditto	10	13	8
"	Messrs. H. Bowyer & Co., for Bookbinding	2	14	0	" due 5th April, 1894 (less ditto)			
"	Mr. Hawtrey, for Translating Markoff's Work on Parthian Coins	2	0	0				
"	Messrs. Walker & Boutall, for Photographing Coins, &c.	1	12	6				
"	Receipt Books . . . . .	0	19	6				
"	Fire Insurance . . . . .	0	15	0				
"	Mr. F. Anderson, for Drawing Coin . . . . .	0	12	0				
"	Mr. J. Pinches, for Engraving . . . . .	0	6	6				
"	Messrs. Hachette & Cie., for "Daremborg and Saglio's Dictionnaire des Antiquités" . . . . .	0	3	9				
"	Secretaries, for Postages, &c. . . . .	4	0	0				
"	Treasurer, for Postages, Receipts, and Stationery	6	0	0				
"	Collector (Mr. A. W. Hunt), for Commission and Postages	7	16	6				
"	Balance . . . . .	260	7	1				
		£656	2	10				

Examined with the Vouchers, compared as to additions, and found correct.  
 21st June, 1894.

ALFRED E. COPP,  
 HONORARY TREASURER.  
 ALEX. DURLACHER } Auditors.  
 RICHARD A. HOBLYN }

After the Report of the Council had been read, the President handed the medal of the Society to Mr. C. F. Keary, with the following words :—

Mr. Keary,—

It is with much pleasure that I place in your hands the medal of this Society, which has been awarded to you by the Council in recognition of your services to numismatic science, especially in the departments of Early English and Mediæval coins.

The able essays which form the introduction to the two first volumes of the *Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum* and which deal in so exhaustive a manner with the history and origin of the Anglo-Saxon coinage, would alone entitle you to the gratitude of all numismatists ; but, in addition to this, the members of the Numismatic Society have to recognise the value of the numerous essays that you have from time to time communicated to them. Among these I may more especially mention your papers on the coinages of Western Europe and on the morphology of coins. In the latter you have extended the form of inquiry, which I believe that I was the first to adopt, to other and wider fields than the coinage of a single country like Britain, and have, as might have been expected, reaped valuable results. Into your other numismatic and literary labours I need hardly enter, but I may assure you of my own regret and that of the Society at your having been compelled on account of ill-health to give up the congenial post which you held at the British Museum, and I may also express a hope that in years to come you may with renewed strength never forget your old associations, but still continue successfully to cultivate some portion or other of the wide field of numismatics.

Mr. C. F. Keary returned thanks to the members of the Numismatic Society for the honour they had done him in pre-

senting him with the medal of the Society, and to Sir John Evans for the kind expressions with which that gift had been accompanied. He said that there was one wish that the President had been good enough to express which he cordially endorsed, namely the desire that he should not in the future withdraw himself altogether from numismatic studies. He could only say that if his colleague, Mr. Grueber, thought his assistance of any value in the preparation of the future volumes of the *Catalogue of English Coins*, it would always be readily rendered: and that seemed to open a vista of, if not severe, at any rate lengthened activity. The publications of the British Museum were not affected by the prevailing vice of the age, over-hurry. They proceeded in a stately manner. The speaker therefore thought that before the series to which he referred came to an end he might look forward to many days spent in the calm of the Medal Room, the most delightful of all work-rooms.

In conclusion the speaker referred to the progress of the Society since he had first become a member of it. He was one of those who could look back to the days when they had met only in "an upper room furnished" in Gate Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, and when a band of friends, a good deal more youthful than they were now, had discussed the "changing mart" for coins along with higher matters of numismatic science. Then they had removed to St. Martin's Lane, and finally to the magnificent rooms which they now used. The numbers who attended the meetings of the Society, the speaker believed, were very much larger than they used to be in old days. He regretted that, owing to a variety of circumstances, but chiefly because he had spent a large portion of the last three years abroad, he had not of late been a very frequent attendant. It gave him an especial pleasure to reflect that their learned President, who in the remote days of the Gate Street meetings had, as secretary, a large share in directing these meetings of the Society, remained to preside over them still.



The President then delivered the following address :—

It is again my pleasing duty to congratulate this Society on its continued state of prosperity both as to numbers and finances. Our Treasurer's Report shows a satisfactory Balance in hand, being only £47 less than last year notwithstanding our purchase of £100 consols some few months ago.

As to numbers, our losses from death, resignations, and removals have been 10, while 13 ordinary members have been elected into our body, thus making a total of 275 members,—the highest which the Society has ever reached. The number of our foreign members fortunately remains unchanged, M. Waddington having been a compounding member since 1862.

In the list of those whom the busy hand of death has during the last year removed from among us, two names stand pre-eminent as those of numismatists of world-wide fame, Monsieur W. H. Waddington and Major-General Sir Alexander Cunningham.

When at our last anniversary we all experienced so great a satisfaction in the award of our medal to M. Waddington, we little thought that we should so soon have to deplore his loss. But even at that time it would appear that his health was beginning to fail, and though from time to time there were partial recoveries, he eventually succumbed on January 13th, 1894. It is so lately that, in presenting our medal, I passed in review the principal numismatic work of M. Waddington, that it seems unnecessary on the present occasion to repeat my recapitulation of it. I need only express a fervent hope that the *Corpus* of the coins of Asia Minor which was so nearly completed at the time of his decease may shortly be published, even if shorn of some of its illustrations, and reiterate my belief that the further the study of the coinage of Asia Minor is prosecuted the more valuable will the researches of M. Waddington be found to be.

Another lamentable loss has been sustained in the person of Major-General Sir Alexander Cunningham, K.C.I.E. He was

born in London in 1814,<sup>1</sup> and came of an artistic, literary, and antiquarian stock, his father being Allan Cunningham, the poet and assistant of Chantrey; and Peter, the London antiquary, and Colonel Francis, the editor of the works of Marlowe, Massinger, and Ben Jonson, having been two of his brothers, while a third, Capt. Joseph Davy, was the author of a standard history of the Sikhs. Having received his education at Christ's Hospital and Addiscombe, he joined the Bengal Engineers as a Second Lieutenant, in 1831. He was soon placed upon the staff of the Governor-General, and after serving through the Sikh war and acting as a Commissioner on the Kashmir boundary, he became, after the mutiny, the chief engineer in the North Western Provinces, retiring from active service in 1862.

Almost from the time of his arrival in India he had taken a keen interest in archæological investigation, exploring numerous Buddhist ruins, and publishing accounts of his researches either in the Journals of the Asiatic Society or in separate works like that on the Sanchi Topes.

When under Lord Canning, in 1861, an archæological survey of India was organized, he became its first Director-General, and until 1885, with the exception of three or four years when the survey was in abeyance, remained its indefatigable head.

It is not the place here to enter into details with regard to his numerous archæological publications. His numismatic studies, however, more immediately concern us. He commenced these under James Prinsep, and they have largely enriched the pages of the *Chronicle*. Upwards of fifty years ago, in 1843, he, being then Lieutenant Cunningham, communicated to the Society an important essay on the ancient coinage of Kashmir, with detailed chronological tables and plates of coins. This was followed in 1845 by "An attempt to explain some of the monograms found upon the Grecian coins of Ariana

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<sup>1</sup> See *The Academy*, Dec. 9, 1893, whence many of these details are taken.

and India." In 1866 we had a paper from him on a coin of the Indian Prince Sophytes, and two years afterwards Major-General Cunningham commenced a series of extremely important papers on the coins of Alexander's successors in the East; the last of which was not published until 1883.

In the third series of the *Numismatic Chronicle* we have been favoured with numerous essays on the coins of the Indo-Scythians, the Tochari, Kushâns, or Yue-ti, and the Sakas; while only last year no less than three papers from his pen appeared in the *Chronicle*, all relating to the coinage of the later Indo-Scythians. His acquaintance with these Oriental coins was absolutely unique, and so also was the collection of them that he formed. A large part of this he most liberally presented to the British Museum, and his representatives have made over the remainder to the same institution upon extremely favourable terms. To quote the description of it given by Mr. Rapson:—"This collection included every branch of Persian and Indian numismatics—Parthian, Sassanian, and modern Persian, Græco-Bactrian, Græco-Indian, Indo-Scythic, Indo-Sassanian, and all the known Hindu and Mohammedan currencies from the earliest times down to the present day. Every one of these multitudinous series he had studied and arranged, and in many instances he was the first to interpret the inscriptions on the coins." His industry, indeed, in numismatic and archæological research was unbounded, and it is sad to think what an amount of out-of-the-way and unrecorded knowledge of Eastern antiquity has perished with him. A volume on the coins of Mediæval India was passing through the press at the time of his decease, a companion volume on the coins of Ancient India having been published in 1891.

It was in 1883, shortly after his return to this country from his long sojourn in India, that the medal of this Society was awarded to him for his distinguished services to the science of numismatics in connection with the coinages of Bactria and India. Unfortunately, he was not able to attend in person to

receive it, as even then his health was uncertain, though his energy never failed him. He died, full of years and honours, on the 28th of November last. He was elected an Associate of this Society in 1839, and became a Member in 1869.

The Rev. Charles Soames, of Mildenhall, near Marlborough, was a diligent antiquary and collector, especially of coins and other relics found in Wiltshire, and on two occasions furnished us with notes of small hoards of coins found in that county. One of these was of late Imperial coins found at Manton Down, and the other of third brass coins of the Constantine period found at Granham Hill, both places being in the neighbourhood of Marlborough. Some of the Ancient British coins in his collection have been exhibited to the Society, and one figured in *Evans*. In him many others besides myself have lost a hearty and genial friend. He died on January 8th last.

In Mr. John Wilkinson, F.S.A., we miss one of our oldest members, as he was elected in 1845. As one of the firm of Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, his kindly face was familiar to most of us, and many among us are, no doubt, indebted to him for various acts of courtesy. Though not one of those who contributed to our *Chronicle*, we may fairly say that there are few of us who possess a greater general knowledge of coins than he did, and we may safely assert that no one among us has had a larger number of rare and valuable coins pass through his hands. He died on January 17th, 1894.

Mr. Thomas Jones joined the Society in 1866, and contributed to the *Numismatic Chronicle*<sup>2</sup> papers on "Unpublished Roman Imperial Coins" and "Athens or Chalcis," as well as a note on a coin supposed to relate to Adminius. Of late years he resided in North Wales, having disposed of his collection of coins. He died at the beginning of the present month.

Mr. Henry Webb became a member in 1872, and was well known as a collector. In 1879 he favoured the Society with

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<sup>2</sup> *N.C.*, N.S., xi., 182; 3rd S., v., 247; 3rd S., vi., 19.

some "Remarks on the early silver coins of Charles II,<sup>3</sup> with an attempted arrangement of the smaller pieces not fully classified by Hawkins." The care and judgment exhibited in this paper render it a matter of regret that we did not receive a larger number of essays from his pen. His death took place on March 24, at the age of 85 years.

Mr. George Eades, who resided in Worcestershire, was less well known, but he had been for thirty years a member of the Society at the time of his decease, on April 28th, 1893.

In accordance with my usual practice, I must now pass in review the principal subjects to which our attention has been directed during the past year. Greek numismatics have again been somewhat fully dealt with, but in some instances in a more controversial manner than has been usual with us.

The question of the attribution of certain coins with the type of a bull's head facing, to Eretria rather than to Phocis, has been raised by Sir Henry Howorth, as has also that of the transferring from Athens to Eretria of a series of primitive coins with the Gorgon's head on the obverse. This attribution and transference originated with Dr. Head, who, in his reply to Sir Henry Howorth, shows reason, from weight and analogy of type, for maintaining the view that the coins mentioned belong to Eretria rather than to Phocis, while he is still strongly of opinion that none of the Gorgoneion coins can safely be assigned to Athens, but that if not struck at Eretria they are still of Eubœan origin.

The discussion with regard to the types of the early Athenian coins is continued in two letters on "The Initial Coinage of Athens," Sir Henry Howorth maintaining that on historical evidence we must allow that the types of the Athenian coins were changed by Hippias, and that, after all, certain of the coins with the bucranium should be assigned to Phocis. Dr. Head, however, in his reply points out that the passage relating to Hippias

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<sup>3</sup> *N.C.*, N.S., xix., 92.

has been misunderstood, inasmuch as it distinctly states that though Hippias called in the current money at a reduction in value, under the pretence of having it restruck, yet, that having made his profit, he re-issued the old coins. He shows, moreover, that there would be an anachronism in style had the head of Pallas first been adopted as the coin-type after the Persian war, which, on the assumption that the primitive bullet-shaped coins belong to the time of Hippias, would be a necessary corollary. Nor until it be proved that the Euboic standard prevailed in Phocis will he give up the attribution of the bucranium coins to Eubœa. On the whole, were I called upon to deliver judgment, I should, while giving Sir Henry Howorth credit for making out a *primâ-facie* case, and for able advocacy, pronounce in favour of Dr. Head, but "without costs."

One of the arguments employed by Sir Henry Howorth has called forth from Mr. G. F. Hill a short letter on Neapolis Datanon, in which he points out that there is no evidence that Peisistratus founded a colony near the Strymon, and that had he founded the colony of Neapolis, the earliest types of its coins would more probably have been of Eubœan than of Athenian origin, and that in any case the coinage of Neapolis does not help in the attribution of the Gorgoneion type to Athens.

In pursuance of a laudable custom Mr. Wroth has described to us the principal Greek coins acquired by the British Museum in 1893, among which I am pleased to state there are several of more than ordinary value and interest. Among them may be mentioned a unique bronze coin of Hebryzelmis, a king of the Odrysæ whose name was unknown until 1889, when an inscription recording honours conferred upon him was discovered at Athens; a remarkable silver coin of Messalina, with the three children of the Emperor Claudius on the reverse; a didrachm of Cydonia bearing the signature of the artist, Neuantos; a new stater of Lampsacus of most exquisite workmanship; a gold stater of Ephesus, struck (according to Head) under the auspices of Mithradates Eupator at the time of the revolt against

Rome in B.C. 87—84; an extremely rare and early electrum stater of Phocæa with the *phoca* on the obverse; and a fine drachm of Barce, of Phœnician weight. Among the 408 coins acquired during the year there are of course others of high importance, and I have but selected a few which will serve to show the interest of Mr. Wroth's paper.

Another communication on the subject of Greek coins came to us from Mr. J. L. Myres, who brought under our notice a number of Cretan bronze coins, principally from the sites of Polyrrhenion and Elyros, which he had collected during his travels in Crete.

The "Contributions to Sicilian Numismatics," by Arthur J. Evans, laid before us in December last, are not as yet published but are of high interest. The extremely rare Dâmareteion which he has been so fortunate as to acquire is from different dies from any of the other examples previously known, and on the strength of the epigram of Simonides inscribed on the gold tripod dedicated at Delphi, he suggests that these magnificent coins were struck in larger numbers than has hitherto been thought probable.

Another of his acquisitions seems to throw a new light on the monetary frauds of Dionysius, and he explains that the statement of Aristotle as to Dionysius making every drachma pass as two, thus reducing the value of the Sicilian talent by one-half, might have arisen from Dionysius causing the imported Corinthian *pegasi* to pass as equivalent to the old Syracusan tetradrachms, the issue of which ceased. The effect of this reduction on the silver systems of Etruria and Rome was also traced by Mr. Evans, who concluded his series of papers with notes on "The Omen of the Krimisos on Coins of Herbessus and Morgantina, and on an African Gold Stater of Agathocles." It is to be hoped that not many months will elapse before we shall be able to study these papers in detail in the pages of our *Chronicle*.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> This article has been since printed. See p. 189.

Mr. Rapson's *résumé* of M. Markoff's "Unpublished Coins of the Arsacidae," illustrated as it is by an autotype plate of some of the more beautiful and remarkable coins, is a paper of great value, and the light thrown on the somewhat obscure succession of Parthian satraps and monarchs is by no means insignificant. M. Markoff's researches extend from the days of Andragoras and Tiridates to those of the Indo-Parthian and some of the Indo-Scythian kings.

They thus are connected with those of our lamented member, Sir Alexander Cunningham, from whose pen papers on the coinage of the Scytho-Sassanians and that of the Little Kushâns have appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle*. In these the author has traced the history of each class of coins and of the rulers under whom they were struck, in the one case until nearly the end of the fifth century and in the other until the eleventh; and there is a melancholy satisfaction in thinking that, so far as these classes of coins are concerned, Sir Alexander lived to complete his task; but who can say what other stores of knowledge we may not have lost by his being removed from among us?

Although we have had rare and fine Imperial coins exhibited at our meetings, there has been during the past session an entire absence of papers on Roman numismatics. The subject, however, can hardly be regarded as exhausted.

On the other hand, we have had a more than usual number of papers relating to the Anglo-Saxon coinage. Sir Henry Howorth, treating of some Early Gold Coins struck in Britain, has started a theory that the legend WVNĒTTON, or TTEĒNVW, on the reverse of certain rare *trientes*, is indicative of their having been minted at Winchester, and that the letters VN, separated by a cross on other coins of the same class, also designate Wintonia. No doubt the name of London occurs on some of the *trientes* found at Crondale, which belong to much the same period, but LONDVNIV is upon them given in an intelligible manner. That Winchester should appear under a form that is neither Saxon nor Latin appears to



me very far from probable. As to the supposed WIN in  $\forall N$ , I may point out that the legend on the curious imitation of the *solidus* of Honorius,<sup>5</sup> now in the British Museum, begins with these symbols, which there, no doubt, represent the original DN of Dominus.

The paper by Lord Grantley on "A Unique Styca of Alchred, of Northumbria, and Archbishop Ecgberht," is of a more satisfactory character, and his suggestion that the symbol  $\rho$  is the Runic C, will probably meet with acceptance. On the earliest known coins with the name of Archbishop Ecgberht he appears as a mitred figure, holding two long crosses, and on these he is associated with King Eadberht, but when striking jointly with Æthilwald,<sup>6</sup> his type is the same as on Lord Grantley's coin. The coins with the name of Alchred only seem to give his name as ALCHRED.

These coins have a fantastic animal on the reverse, an animal that also occurs on the coins of Eadberht, Ethelred I, and Aelfwald I; and in a paper of my own, "On a Small Hoard of Saxon Coins found near Cambridge," this selfsame animal is described as occurring on uninscribed coins, which therefore must be regarded as being of the same date. This synchronism is further established by the presence of a triquetra-shaped ornament on coins of either class. With these uninscribed coins were found near Cambridge some sceattas with Runic inscriptions, which I have therefore assigned to the middle or latter half of the eighth century, a considerably later period than that to which they have usually been considered to belong.

In another paper I have called attention to a penny of Aethelstan, found with over a hundred other coins in the Isle of Skye, and struck at the mint of  $\rho$ EARDBV. The coin had been already described by Mr. A. B. Richardson, in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,<sup>7</sup> and attri-

<sup>5</sup> *Cat. Eng. Coins*, Pl. I., 1.

<sup>6</sup> *N.C.*, N.S., ix., Pl. I., 1, 1a.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. xxvii., p. 225.

buted to Wardborough, near Wallingford, where Aethelflaed, the Lady of Mercia, built a burh; and I took the occasion as permitting me to enlarge, rather more than Mr. Richardson had done, on the history of this Saxon "Zenobia," and on the identification of Weardbyrig with Wardborough, in Oxfordshire.

The most important paper of the past year, or, indeed, of many past years, in Anglo-Saxon numismatics, is that by Mr. Grueber, "On a Recent Find of Coins," which took place apparently in or near London. Thanks to the liberality of Mr. Franks, whom we now with much gratification hail as Sir Wollaston Franks, the whole hoard has been added to the national collection. It consisted of about 240 coins, ranging from the time of Offa, King of Mercia, to that of Æthelwulf, of Wessex, and it was probably deposited about A.D. 841 or 842.

Although the majority of the coins were of Ecgbeorht and Æthelwulf and of Æthelstan I of East Anglia, the regal coins of Mercia and Kent, as well as the archiepiscopal coins of Canterbury, were well represented. Of Coenvulf there were twenty-five coins, including some unpublished varieties; and many of these pieces were apparently struck by the archbishop's moneyers at Canterbury, or by those who struck money for Cuthred and Baldred. The same may be said with regard to some of the coins of Ceolwulf I, one of which, hitherto unpublished, is of special interest as bearing the name of Dorobernia on the reverse. Of the rare coins of Beornwulf, four were present, one at least giving a new type. I see, however, hardly sufficient reason for attributing the coin bearing it to Rochester, nor can I accept without hesitation Mr. Grueber's interpretation of the mysterious letters on the reverse of another of Beornwulf's coins.

No less than four examples of Wiglaf's coins were present, thus more than doubling the number of the coins of that king now extant. A new moneyer's name and a new variety of type are also for the first time recorded.

One of the rare coins of Eadbert II, of Kent, as well as one of Cuthred, were in the hoard, and no less than nine coins of Baldred. These gave one new type and two unpublished varieties.

Of Archbishop Wulfred there were nine coins, and eight struck "*Sede vacante*." One of the archiepiscopal coins, unpublished, gives DOROB C in monogram on the reverse in the same form as occurs on the coins of Ceolnoth and Ecgbeorht. The strong presumption is, therefore, raised that this monogram is not that of the name of Ecgbeorht.

Mr. Grueber points out that the "*Sede vacante*" coins were struck both by the regal and the archiepiscopal moneyers, the coins of the former bearing a head in profile, those of the latter a full-face bust.

Of Archbishop Ceolnoth we have ten coins, all, with one exception, of the ordinary type.

The hoard was rich in the coins of Æthelstan I, of East Anglia, and furnished at least three new types of his money. Not the least interesting is that on which the Runic **Y** takes the place of S in the king's name. Although a variety of this penny was already known, and had been by Kenyon ascribed to Æthelstan I, it had been doubtfully placed under Æthelweard in the British Museum Catalogue. Any doubts, however, are, I think, now removed.

The coins of Ecgbeorht formed a full third of the hoard, and present several new types. That with SCVS ANDREAS APOSTOLVS on the reverse is of great interest, and, like those without the designation of Apostolus, was probably struck at Rochester. More remarkable still are the two coins with the title of the king of Mercia, one of which gives, for the first time, the reverse of LVNDONIA CIVIT, which serves to fill in a portion of the gap that exists in the records of the London mint between the days of the *trientes* and *sceattas* and those of the coins of Halfdan and Ælfred with the name of the town in monogram.

The coins of Æthelwulf also present some unpublished types, including one with **A** and **W** in monogram, which was copied from a coin of Ecgbeorht.

The only foreign coin present was one of Charlemagne struck at Mainz. Of the historical conclusions to be derived from the hoard, Mr. Grueber has fully treated, and several of his results closely coincide with those I attained from a consideration of the Delgany hoard, which in many respects resembled that now described, though probably it represents our currency at a date about ten years earlier than A.D. 842.

On the subject of later English numismatics we have had a fair number of papers, though some of them have not as yet appeared in the pages of our *Chronicle*.

Mr. Lawrence has directed our attention to a rare penny of Stephen, which in type closely resembles those usually attributed to Henry, Earl of Northumberland. This attribution, however, the author of the paper calls in question, and suggests the probability of these coins having been struck under Henry II, before he came to the throne, and while he was still Count of Anjou and Duke of Normandy.

On the coinage of that same king Mr. Packe has given us a paper in which he has shown the provisions made early in his reign for the suppression of the currency of foreign coins in England, and for the introduction of one uniform coinage in its place. He has, in the same paper, discussed the position held by the moneyers in the days of Henry II, and the regulations under which they worked.

Our Vice-President, Mr. Montagu, has treated of the coins which are to be assigned to the short reign of Edward V, and has shown the extreme probability of all the coins bearing the name of Edward and the mint-marks of the rose and sun united, and of the boar's head, having been struck under the youthful king. The late Mr. Hawkins was unwilling to assign any coins to Edward V, but there can, I think, be now but little doubt that the coins bearing Edward's name, but with the mint-marks

of his uncle and nominal Protector, Richard III, may almost with certainty be attributed to his reign.

Dr. F. P. Weber has described some of the coins of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, the second son of King John, struck under his authority as King of the Romans, some at Aix la Chapelle, where he was crowned, and others apparently at Dortmund and Cologne. His arms frequently occur on the early steelyard weights found in England, possibly owing to his connection with the Mint. For it was under him that the long-cross coinage of Henry III was struck, Richard having obtained from his brother a concession of two-thirds of the profit of the coinage for a term of seven years, by which he is said to have gained some £20,000. To us it seems a pity that his German coins were not struck with anything like the same care and skill as the English.

The copper half-penny of Elizabeth, described by Mr. Hoblyn, is of double interest, being in the first place unpublished, and in the second affording proof that the aversion of the Queen to the baser metals was not insuperable.

Coming down to the seventeenth century there is a short paper of my own on a few new Hertfordshire tokens, in one of which, issued at Batchworth Bridge, I take somewhat of a personal interest.

Treating of even more recent times is a paper by Dr. F. P. Weber on Medals and Medallions of the nineteenth century relating to England, but by foreign artists. It may be a source of surprise, though not of gratification, to find how many English medals are due to other than English medal-lists.

We have had two papers in the field of Oriental numismatics, one by Col. L. Ellis on the currency of the Straits Settlements during the first third of the present century, from which it appears that the coins in use in the Malay Peninsula were various in kind, but that a large proportion of them were the produce of Birmingham mints. The other paper, by Dr.

Codrington, gives an account of some rare coins of an Abbāsi Khalif and of the Benī Rasūl.

Our meetings have been remarkably well attended, and the exhibition of numerous specimens, conspicuous for rarity or for preservation, has materially added to their interest.

Most of the numismatic publications of the year have already been noticed in the pages of the *Chronicle*. I may, however, call attention to the second volume of the Catalogue of the English Coins in the British Museum, compiled by Mr. Grueber and Mr. Keary, which completes the account of the Anglo-Saxon coins in the national collection. The Introduction, as that of the former volume, is a valuable historical essay, extending over the whole period from the accession of Ecgbeorht to the throne of Wessex in A.D. 802, until the Norman Conquest in A.D. 1066. The Catalogue is illustrated by thirty-two autotype plates and by a map showing the position of the various Anglo-Saxon mint places. A few woodcuts giving types not as yet in the Museum are given in the text. Notwithstanding these few deficiencies we may well congratulate ourselves on the vast extent of the collection at Bloomsbury, and on our now having so complete a Catalogue of the coins that it comprises.

Another British Museum publication is a second edition of the *Guide to the Italian Medals*. This valuable guide is illustrated by plates exhibiting another set of medals than those given in the first edition.

Mr. Montagu is also to be congratulated on his work on the copper coins of England having reached a second edition.

At Berlin, another volume of the *Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Coins* has appeared, being Part I of the third volume. It relates to the early coinage of Italy and embraces the *Aes rude*, *Aes signatum* and *Aes grave*, as well as the struck coins of Etruria and Calabria. Of the fourteen plates four are devoted almost exclusively to the coins of Tarentum.

It is, however, time to conclude my review of the past year,

but before doing so, I must offer my best thanks to the officers, the council, and the society, for the cordial support that they have given me, not only since our last anniversary but during the twenty years that I have occupied this Presidential Chair. It was on the 18th June, 1874, that I first had the honour of being elected as your President, and at that date our Ordinary Members numbered 151 and our invested funds were £408. We are now 275 strong and our capital has as nearly as possible doubled. So true is it that *Concordiâ res parvæ crescunt*.

A vote of thanks to the President for his address was moved by Dr. H. Weber and seconded by Mr. A. E. Packe, and carried unanimously.

Messrs. A. H. Lyell and Mr. C. E. Mackerell were appointed to scrutinise the ballot.

The Meeting then proceeded to ballot for the Council and Officers for the ensuing year, when the following gentlemen were elected :—

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NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
OF LONDON.  
DECEMBER, 1894.



LIST OF MEMBERS  
OF THE  
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
OF LONDON,  
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